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The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a traditional marbled paper pattern, featuring large, irregular blue spots and smaller white speckles on a dark reddish-brown background, with thin veins of gold or yellow. In the center of the cover is a rectangular, cream-colored label with a thin black border. The label is divided into three horizontal sections by thin black lines. The middle section contains the text "GOLDWIN SMITH." in a simple, black, sans-serif font. The top and bottom sections of the label are empty.

GOLDWIN SMITH.





A JOURNAL
OF
THE SWEDISH EMBASSY

IN THE YEARS 1653 AND 1654.

IMPARTIALLY WRITTEN BY THE
AMBASSADOR BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.

FIRST PUBLISHED
FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT
BY
DR. CHARLES MORTON, M.D., F.S.A.,
LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

A NEW EDITION,
REVISED BY
HENRY REEVE, Esq., F.S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

"A wicked messenger falleth into mischief, but a faithful ambassador is health."
PROVERBS xiii. 17.

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TO MONSIEUR GUIZOT,

MEMBRE DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to present to you this New Edition of a Work already well known to your researches, as a slight acknowledgment of the eminent services you have rendered to the History of the Commonwealth of England both at home and abroad, and as a mark of the constant respect and attachment with which

I have the honour to be

Your very faithful Servant,

HENRY REEVE.

LONDON,
20th January, 1855.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Manuscripts of Bulstrode Whitelocke, now deposited in the Library of the British Museum, which have reference to this Work, are as follows:—

I. (Mus. Brit. Bibl. Egerton, 997, Plut.) A small volume entitled *Whitelocke's History of the Forty-eighth Year of his Age, interspersed with Scripture Lectures addressed to his Children*: all in Whitelocke's handwriting. This volume appears to have been a sort of note-book carried in the pocket, for the exterior is much worn; and it was the author's practice to note together the incidents of the day, and his reflections on the portions of Scripture which formed his daily reading.

II. (Mus. Brit. 4992.) *Whitelocke's Annales of his Life, 1653–1656, with an Introduction addressed to his Children*. This period coincides with his departure for Sweden, to which the Notes in this volume more particularly relate; for in the spring of his forty-ninth year, 1653, he says, “I come now to the most troublesome and active year of my age, wherein I shall set down the passages relating to the Parliament and the army by

themselves, and those relating to the Swedish Embassy by themselves, that both the one and the other may be the more surely and distinctly understood."

III. (Mus. Brit. 4902.) *The Journal of the Swedish Embassy*: written by Whitelocke himself, in one thick volume in double columns, from which Dr. Morton's edition in 1772 was literally printed.

IV. (Mus. Brit. 4991 A. Plut. cxxiii. H.) Two volumes folio of manuscript notes and commentaries relating to the Swedish Embassy and to other matters, not in Whitelocke's handwriting; partly printed in the Appendix to Dr. Morton's edition.

Of these manuscripts the third is entirely complete, and was probably designed for publication by its author, though he speaks of it as written for the use of his own family. It was printed without alteration by Dr. Morton; and the duties of the present Editor have been confined to the adoption of the orthography of the present day, and some occasional corrections and emendations. From the appearance of this manuscript, and from the more fragmentary and imperfect state of the other manuscripts above referred to, it may be conjectured that Whitelocke employed a portion of the later years of his life, which were spent in retirement, in re-writing the narrative of his Embassy, which he regarded as "the most troublesome and active" period of his career.

Dr. Charles Morton, the former editor of this work in the last century, was first Under-Librarian, and subsequently Principal Librarian, of the British Museum.

In the year 1766 he had published *Whitelocke's Notes upon the King's Writ for choosing Members of Parliament*, 13 Charles II., being *Disquisitions on the Government of England by King, Lords, and Commons*, in two volumes quarto, the original manuscript of this work having been placed in his hands for publication by Thomas Carew, gentleman, who bought it at the sale of the Duke of Chandos's library in 1747.

The publication of this work, which is of very inferior interest to the *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, having attracted the notice of the representatives of the Whitelocke family, Carleton Whitelocke, Esq., of Prior's-wood, near Dublin, placed in the hands of the same editor the manuscript which was first printed under Dr. Morton's direction in 1772. The biographical sketch of Whitelocke's career, which was prefixed to the work on the King's Writ, furnishes a succinct and accurate narrative of his career.

“Bulstrode Whitelocke, or Lord Commissioner Whitelocke as he is sometimes called, was the son of Sir James Whitelocke, Knight, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Edward Bulstrode, of Hedgley Bulstrode, in the county of Buckingham, Esquire. He was born August 6th, 1605, in Fleet-street, London, in the house of Sir George Croke, his mother's uncle, afterwards one of the Justices of the Common Pleas; and was educated in grammar learning in Merchant Tailors' School. When he had properly improved himself there, he was admitted, in Michaelmas

Term, 1620, a gentleman-commoner of St. John's College, in Oxford; at which time he was principally recommended to the care and oversight of his father's contemporary and intimate friend, Dr. Laud, then President of that house, who showed him many kindnesses: in return for which, many years after, when Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, was to be brought to his trial, Mr. Whitelocke refused to be in the number of the committee appointed by Parliament to draw up a charge against him. Having laid a good foundation of general learning, he quitted the University without taking a degree, and went to the Middle Temple, where, by the help of his father, he became a great proficient in the common law; not neglecting, at the same time, every other branch of polite and useful literature. In the midst of his more serious studies he showed a gallant turn of mind, by being one of the chief managers of the Royal Masque which was exhibited by the Inns of Court in February, 1633, before King Charles I. and his Queen and their Court, at Whitehall. To him in particular was committed the whole care and charge of the music for this great masque, which was so well performed, that it excelled any music that had before that time been heard in England.

“Being a Counsellor-at-Law, he delivered with great applause, though unprepared, a charge at the Quarter Sessions at Oxford in 1635; and was often consulted by Hampden, when he came to be prosecuted for refusing the payment of ship-money. At the beginning

of the commotions in Scotland he wanted not solicitations on behalf of the Covenanters; but he persuaded his friends not to foment those growing public differences, nor to be any means of encouraging a foreign nation against their natural prince, from whence he feared great and evil consequences. He was chosen one of the Burgesses for Marlow in the Long Parliament, which met November 3, 1640. Towards the beginning of the Session, a debate arising about the writs of *habeas corpus* upon which Mr. Selden and other members, who had been committed for their freedom of speech in the Parliament of 1628, had demanded to be bailed, but were refused; this was so far aggravated by some, that they moved Mr. Selden and the rest might have reparation out of the estates of those Judges who then sat in the King's Bench; and they being named to be Hyde, Jones, and Whitelocke, the young Member for Marlow stood up in defence of his father, and vindicated him from the fact alleged. When the Earl of Strafford came to be impeached by the Commons of high treason, Mr. Whitelocke was chosen Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up articles and manage the evidence against him. All the papers relating thereto were delivered into his custody; but a very material one was conveyed away by the Lord Digby to the Earl, which brought a suspicion of treachery upon Mr. Whitelocke, though he was sufficiently cleared afterwards, when a copy of that paper was found, in Lord Digby's handwriting, in the King's cabinet at the battle of Naseby.

“In 1641, during the debates about the Militia, he made an excellent speech, wherein he declared it as his opinion that the power of the Militia was neither in the King alone nor in the Parliament, but jointly in both. All accommodations about that important matter being found impracticable, which Mr. Whitelocke appears to have earnestly wished for, and he, being apprehensive of the ensuing miseries and troubles, spoke against raising an army for the defence of the Parliament, and sensibly described the calamities of a civil war. However, being perhaps unwilling to see what he thought the most valuable rights of the nation tamely lost, he accepted of the office of Deputy-Lieutenant of the counties of Bucks and Oxford in 1642, and, together with Mr. Hampden, dispersed the Commissioners of Array at Watlington. Also, having a gallant company of horse of his neighbours under his command, he marched to Oxford, of which he was named a fit person to be Governor; and proposed the securing of that important place, but his advice was not followed. About the end of October, his seat at Fawley Court was rifled and plundered by a party of Prince Rupert’s brigade; which, as he says, he remembered only to raise a constant hatred of anything that may in the least tend to foment such unhappiness and misery; and in November he appeared among those forces that opposed the King at Brentford. In January, 1642-3, he was one of the Commissioners at the Treaty of Peace at Oxford, wherein a good deal of the business lay upon him; and he had a great share

of favour and respect from his fellow-Commissioners. Upon all overtures of peace he industriously laboured to promote them; which might be some ground of his being so often employed by the Parliament in their treaties. In March, the Lords having proposed that a new Committee should be named to consider of propositions of peace, and the Commons insisting to have that matter referred to a Committee of both kingdoms, Mr. Whitelocke observed that in the debate some were averse to any proposition at all for peace, which induced him to make an excellent peaceful speech.

“He was a member of the Assembly of Divines; and, in their debates for settling the government of the Church, delivered his opinion against the divine right of Presbytery; which notion he afterwards opposed in the House of Commons, and prevented them from being surprised upon this great question, for which he received thanks. In 1644 he was constituted Constable of Windsor Castle. Both Houses of Parliament having at length agreed upon the propositions for peace, Mr. Whitelocke was appointed one of the committee to carry them to the King at Oxford. His Majesty seemed to express a particular regard for him, styling him and Mr. Holles messengers of and wishers to peace; and when they were about coming away, the King desired them to set down in writing what they apprehended might be fit for him to return in answer to their message, and was in their judgements likely to facilitate the good work of peace. Accordingly, going into a pri-

vate room, he wrote down, not in his usual hand, what he and Mr. Holles judged to be fit for the substance of his Majesty's answer to the proposals of peace they had brought, and left it upon the table. But this affair had like to have proved their ruin; for it coming to the knowledge of the Lord Saville, who was then with the King at Oxford, and revolted afterwards to the Parliament, that inconstant Lord sent to the Commons an accusation of high treason against Mr. Holles and Mr. Whitelocke, on account of that paper, the 2nd of July, 1645. They were persecuted with all eagerness, and defended themselves with so much constancy, mutual fidelity, and convincing evidence, that, after a long and strict examination, they were clearly acquitted by a vote of the House, on 21st of July, of any misdemeanour in this business, and left at liberty to prosecute, if they pleased, for damages, the Lord Saville, then a prisoner in the Tower.

“To return to some particulars that happened in the meantime.

“The Scottish Commissioners finding that Oliver Cromwell, by some words he had dropped, was no friend to their nation nor the government of their Church, and the Lord General Essex growing jealous that he was endeavouring to supplant him, a private consultation was had, whether he could not be proceeded against as an incendiary. Mr. Whitelocke, who was present, declared it as his opinion that he could not. Mr. A. Wood says that he gave Oliver timely notice of the design, and

thenceforth became very gracious with that most active person. But he says himself, that at this debate some who were present were false brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that passed among them. He was not for the Self-denying Ordinance, and made a speech against it. In the beginning of the year 1645 he was appointed one of the Commissioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and attended there; and on the 6th of August following, when the House of Commons was in debate about sending propositions of peace to his Majesty, he furthered them as much as he could. He had been the last year nominated Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster. On the 15th April, 1645, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; and December 16th, Steward of the Revenues of Westminster College. When the Presbyterians were striving to have the power of excommunication and suspension from the Sacrament vested in themselves, he opposed it in the House of Commons; for which they censured and termed him a disciple of Selden, and an Erastian.

“Upon several occasions he showed himself a lover of learning. As for instance, in order to preserve the Lord Keeper Lyttelton’s books and manuscripts from being sold and dispersed by the sequestrators, as they would have been, he procured an order from the House of Commons, that such as could be discovered should be bestowed upon him; and by that means he saved them, to have the present use of them: resolving, whenever there was a happy accommodation, to restore them to

the owner or to some of his family. Neither was he less useful in preserving the Heralds' Office, being one of the committee, and very active in promoting the ordinance for settling and regulating that office, though great opposition was made by the lower levelling class of the then ruling powers, who were but of yesterday. He caused also the manuscripts and books at Whitehall to be removed to St. James's House, that those rare monuments of learning and antiquity might be preserved.

“At the siege of Oxford (where he occasionally attended General Fairfax, and was admitted to his councils of war), being a friend to the University wherein he had been educated, and undeniably a man of considerable learning, he used all his interest to have honourable terms granted to the besieged garrison, and that the colleges and libraries should not be hurt or plundered. In October, 1645, he appears to have resorted with Sir Henry Vane, and ‘other grandees of that party, and was kindly treated by them, as he used to be by the other,’ to use his own words. In June 29, 1646, he was one of the Select Council ordered by General Fairfax to consult about several sieges, and was made use of as their secretary; and he kept a strong garrison in his seat of Phyllis Court for the use of the then prevailing powers. In December, 1646, we find him earnestly promoting the ordinances for taking away all coercive power of committees, and all arbitrary power from both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of their committees, in any matter between party and party; judging that to be

for the honour of the Parliament and the ease and right of the people. And being well skilled in foreign affairs, he was usually in every committee relating to them. At the same time he applied himself closely to his practice of the law, and attended the Assizes much to his profit, as may be seen in his 'Memorials.'

"When his old friends Sir Philip Stapleton, Denzil Holles, Recorder Glyn, and others came to promote eagerly the disbanding of the greatest part of the army, he declared against that measure, believing, as he said and very likely knew, that the army would not submit to it, and ill consequences might follow. This highly ingratiated him with Cromwell and that party, who entertained him with all respect and affection, and highly courted him. His friends in the House of Commons, and some others who would have been rid of him, moved that he might be sent Lord Justice into Ireland, to exercise the civil government; but he was not free to undertake that charge. And now Cromwell and his adherents were against his going away, and more than formerly desired his company, and began to use his advice in many things. In September, 1647, the city of London were very desirous of having him for their Recorder, which he declined; and December 5, the Speaker of the House of Commons not being well, and Whitelocke being informed by his friends, that in case the Speaker should continue ill they would call him to the chair to supply that place, to avoid it he withdrew himself from the House and went home.

“In March, 1647-8, he was appointed one of the three Commissioners of the Great Seal, for one whole year. These Commissioners were said to be agreed upon beforehand by a private junto of Cromwell’s party. He was sworn into his office April 12, with a salary of £1000 a year, and took much contentment in the privacy and credit of it. On the 17th he resigned his place of Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster. He gives us a remarkable instance of his own and fellow-Commissioners’ most laudable and exemplary despatch in the Chancery business,—that in the morning of one day they determined thirteen causes, and forty demurrers in the afternoon, and sometimes sat from five o’clock in the morning till five in the evening. According to his own account he was no gainer by accepting of the place of Commissioner of the Great Seal, for the profit of it was not above £1500 a year, whereas his practice in the law brought him before near £2000 per annum. He thought himself but unfixed and unsettled in that high post, looking upon the Self-denying Ordinance debated in Parliament on August 6, 1648, as a design to remove him. And such a design appears in October following, when he was ordered by the House to be one of the Serjeants-at-Law then called, and Attorney-General of the Duchy, though in words the House did express much favour and respect to him, and their compliments were too high for him to remember.

“The army’s force upon the House of Commons drew some serious reflections from him ; and he had no great

mind to sit in that House as it was then constituted. He was one of the Committee of thirty-eight named to consider of drawing up a charge against King Charles I.; but he never attended, being resolved to avoid meddling in that bad affair; and therefore he went into the country, on purpose to be out of the way, and not be liable to be over-persuaded or compelled. But before that, he had assisted, at a meeting of some of the Members of the House of Commons, to consult about settling the kingdom by Parliament, and not to leave all to the sword. He returned to London January 9, 1648-9, after the King's trial was begun; though he seemed not to be concerned in it, and refused afterwards to approve the proceedings of the High Court of Justice. But he had meetings and free discourses with Cromwell about the then affairs and actions of the army, and the settlement of the kingdom.

“February 1, he declared, in the House of Commons, his disapprobation of the vote of December 5, 1648, ‘that his Majesty’s concessions to the propositions of the Parliament were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom.’ And on the 6th ‘it was put upon him to draw an Act to take away the House of Lords; wherein he desired to have been excused, in regard he was not in the House when the vote passed, and had declared his opinion against it; but could not get excused.’

“February 8, he made a speech, extant in his ‘Memorials,’ to excuse himself from being made one of the new

Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; but notwithstanding this he was voted to be one, *nemine contradicente*. He says, that 'being beforehand acquainted that he was to be named, he had often advised with his friends about it; and that the most considerable particulars' (which seem to have been urged by his friends) were, that 'he was already very deeply engaged with this party; that the business to be undertaken by him was the execution of law and justice, without which men could not live one by another, a thing of absolute necessity to be done.' He adds, that many objections also were made against his accepting this place, which are mentioned in the speech. The 14th of February, 1648-9, he was nominated one of the Council of State; and March 16, according to an Order of the 14th, 'He brought in a draft of a declaration touching the proceedings of Parliament in the late transactions, which, being committed, was made much sharper than he had drawn it, and divers clauses were added which he thought matters fit to be omitted.' June 13, he was chosen High Steward of Oxford in the place of the Earl of Berks. On the 6th of July he voluntarily surrendered his office of Attorney of the Duchy, which the House had bestowed on him. On the 30th of July, at the instance of the learned Mr. Selden, he undertook the care of the Royal Library and medals at St. James's, in order to prevent a design formed by some to have them sold and transported beyond sea, which he thought would be a dishonour and damage to this nation and to all scho-

lars here ; and fearing that in other hands they might be more subject to embezzling, this trouble therefore he undertook, to preserve them for public use. John Dury, a German, a good scholar, and who had been a great traveller, was his deputy-librarian. September 26, he was appointed one of the Governors for the School and Almshouses at Westminster ; and in November following, opposed a motion made in the House of Commons, that no lawyers should be of the Parliament. The year following, in the debates upon the Act for putting all the books of the law and the process and proceedings in courts of justice into the English tongue, some having spoken in derogation and dishonour of the laws of England, the Lord Commissioner stood up in defence of them, and endeavoured to prove that they were not introduced by William the First. September 9, 1651, he was appointed, with three other Members of Parliament, to go out of town to meet Oliver Cromwell on his way to London, and congratulate him upon his victory at Worcester.

“All opposition being now fallen before Cromwell, he had a meeting, December 10, at the Speaker’s house, with some Members of Parliament and officers of the army, to talk about the settlement of the nation, and probably with a view to sound their opinions and inclinations. Whitelocke, who was present, delivered his sentiments to this purpose :—‘ The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a Government without something

of monarchy in it would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that they had scarce time to rectify it, nor could they well foresee the inconveniencies that would arise thereby. Therefore he added that there might be a day given for the King's eldest son, or for the Duke of York, his brother, to come into the Parliament ; and, upon such terms as should be thought fit and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement might be made with them.' In November, 1652, he repeated the same advice in a private conference with Cromwell, wherein he dissuaded him from assuming the title of King, and persuaded him to enter into a private treaty with Charles II.

“This proposal was very displeasing from the first to Cromwell, who thenceforward grew cool towards the Lord Commissioner, and had but little intercourse and correspondence with him. In order to get him out of the way, and deprive him of his office of Commissioner of the Great Seal, he was named one, and the chief, of the Commissioners for the Administration of the Civil Government in Ireland. Arguments were not wanting to urge him to accept of it,—as the great command, the honour, and the considerable profit of that employment. But as he perceived the offer proceeded rather from ill than good will, and that Cromwell was forward in it underhand,—as not liking his advice above mentioned, and his noncompliance with his sovereign pleasure in some things, particularly in Chancery causes,—he at first discreetly excused himself from that service, which would

have been no advancement either to his honour or profit, in a country too which he did not like. And when he was rather over-pressed, he got himself off from being named, by a kind of resolute denial. But not long after, Cromwell found occasion, by an honourable employment, to send him out of the way, that he might be no obstacle or impediment to his ambitious designs.

“When the two Commonwealths of England and Holland began to quarrel, and the right of the fishery and dominion of the British seas came under debate, the maintaining of those privileges was committed to Whitelocke, who better than any one was skilled in such points and in the history and antiquities of this nation. He was very uneasy and displeased at the army’s beginning to set up for themselves without the Parliament, and always and earnestly declared his judgement against this as the most dangerous and most ungrateful thing that could be practised. The 20th of April, 1653, he urged the same arguments at a great meeting of Parliament-men and officers in Cromwell’s lodgings, and said that dissolving the Parliament would neither be warrantable in conscience or wisdom. Again, when it was proposed that a number (about forty) of Parliament-men and officers of the army should be nominated and empowered by the Parliament for managing the affairs of the Commonwealth till a new Parliament should meet, and so the present one to be forthwith dissolved, he opposed this proposal, and the more, fearing lest he might be one of these forty, who he thought would be

in a desperate condition after the dissolution of the Parliament. But notwithstanding his own and his party's endeavours, the Parliament was dissolved in a rude and arbitrary manner by Oliver Cromwell. He did not proceed in the business of the Great Seal till after Cromwell and his Council of Officers had set forth a declaration of the grounds and reasons for their dissolving the late Parliament, and that all civil officers should proceed as formerly in the execution of their offices. Cromwell was so much offended with him that he did not admit him into his first Parliament, which assembled in July, 1653; and his great commission was superseded by the vote for taking away the Court of Chancery.

“To remove him yet further, the honourable employment described in these volumes was contrived for him as a kind of creditable exile. That was an Embassy to the famous Christina, Queen of Sweden, to which he was nominated by Cromwell September 4, 1653, and voted in Parliament ten days after. He received his commission and instruction from the hand of the Speaker the 29th October, and having very expeditiously prepared himself, he set out from London November 2nd, embarked at Gravesend the 5th, sailed the 6th, and after a difficult passage arrived at Gothenburg the 15th. A few weeks after his departure, the Parliament having resigned up their power to the General Cromwell, he assumed the supreme legislative authority under the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

“This great alteration at home made no alteration in his conduct, but he proceeded vigorously in the affair of his Embassy, notwithstanding he met with great obstructions from Queen Christina, who, in his audiences, instead of hearkening to his business, entertained him with her notions of philosophy and with balls and diversions. In other respects she showed him and his sons great civility, and created him Knight of the Order of Amarantha, of which she herself was sovereign, and wore as the badge of it a rich jewel tied to a crimson ribbon under her left breast. Having overcome all difficulties, he concluded a firm alliance between England and Sweden about the beginning of May, 1654, before Queen Christina's resignation of her crown. And immediately setting out upon his return home, he came to Hamburg June 10, embarked at Glückstadt the 17th, and after a dangerous passage, having struck upon a sand near Yarmouth, he arrived in England the 28th.

“On the 6th of July he gave the Protector and his Council a circumstantial account of his Embassy, and was not only continued the First Commissioner of the Great Seal, but was also appointed, August 4, one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer. He was also Recorder of Bristol. At the meeting of the Protector's second Parliament, August 4, in which he was chosen for the county of Bucks and for the boroughs of Oxford and Bedford, he carried the purse before him; and on the 6th gave a particular narrative to the House of his negotiations at the Court of Sweden, for which he not

only received the thanks of the House, but had also £2000 ordered him for arrears of the expenses of his Embassy, and as a testimony of their favour and a reward of his services; the payment of which however was not made good till February, 1656-7, with the addition of £500. He was so diligent in his attendance upon Parliament, and gained so great an interest in it, that Cromwell became highly displeased with him among the rest; and he grew jealous of him, with many of his former friends, suspecting that their design at bottom was to bring in the King, because they declared for a truly free Parliament, which was indeed the way for the King's restoration. After the dissolution of this second Parliament, Cromwell and his Council having framed an ordinance for the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the High Court of Chancery, Whitelocke and Sir Thomas Widdrington made shrewd observations upon its inconveniences, and declared that the observation of it was contrary to their own judgements and consciences, therefore no worldly considerations could prevail upon him to execute an ordinance which he looked upon as illegal. Accordingly, on the 6th of June, 1655, he resigned the Seal, for which he underwent various censures, but says he never had cause to repent of that action.

“ But the Protector, sensible of his harsh proceedings against him for keeping to that liberty of conscience which he himself held to be every one's right, and that none ought to suffer for, by way of recompense made

him one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, with a salary of £1000 per annum.

“He also often advised with him in his greatest affairs; and he was faithful in his advice, though sometimes less pleasing to Cromwell than the counsel of some others who, for their private ends, would flatter him and seldom differ from him in judgement, whereof he grew at last sensible. Particularly the Protector seldom omitted to consult him about foreign affairs, wherein he thought him not unserviceable, and did much follow his counsel.

“Often did Whitelocke press him to have frequent Parliaments, though contrary to the sentiments and persuasions of others. But so far was he from taking it ill, that he constituted him, on the 2nd of November, one of his Council of Trade, and nominated him in the beginning of the year 1656 one of the Ambassadors Extraordinary to Sweden. Though Whitelocke declined that employment, yet he accepted of the office of being one of the Commissioners to treat with the Swedish Ambassador then in England; and after long negotiations, of which we have a detail in his ‘Memorials,’ a treaty was signed on July 17, between the English and Swedes.

“In the third Parliament of Oliver Cromwell, which met September 17, Whitelocke was elected one of the Knights for the county of Bucks, and supplied the place of Speaker during Sir Thomas Widdrington’s illness.

“He did not choose to present to the Parliament the humble petition and advice, etc., there being some things

in it disagreeable to him ; but he was Chairman of the Committee appointed to confer with Cromwell about it, and he advised him, among others, to take the title of King. But Cromwell durst not assume it, being awed by the Commonwealth party and the fears of a mutiny and defection from the greatest part of the army, whose threats ran very high. At his solemn inauguration at Westminster Hall, June 26, 1657, Whitelocke rode by his son Richard in one of the boots of the state-coach, with a drawn sword in his hand. He seemed still to be much in favour with the Protector, who advised with him about the besieging of Dunkirk and other important affairs ; and he persuaded the Protector to further the relief of the poor persecuted Protestants in Piedmont. December 11 he received his writ of summons as one of the Lords of the other House.

“ When Cromwell was about dissolving the Parliament, he dissuaded him from it, telling him the danger of frequent dissolution of Parliaments, and what straits it would bring him into for money. But his advice was not received, nor his application successful, when he asked for the Provostship of Eton College, a thing of good value, quiet and honourable, and fit for a scholar ; upon which occasion he observes that his service was past, and therefore no necessity for a recompense. So thinking himself neglected, and not being satisfied with the public transactions, he lived much retired. April 23, 1658, he was one of the Committee for hearing Appeals from Guernsey and Jersey, and three days after, nomi-

nated one of the Commissioners for the trial of Dr. Hewet and other conspirators ; but he never acted in that High Court of Justice, it being against his judgement, as he had before declared. He also waived the place of Governor of Dunkirk, of which overtures were made to him soon after. The last instance of the Protector's favour to him was his signing, August 21st, a warrant for a patent to make him a Viscount ; but he did not think it convenient to accept of that honour.

“ The 22nd January, 1658-9, Richard, the new Protector, having a particular respect for him, made him one of the Keepers of the Great Seal, without any seeking of his own, and he was one of his Lords of the other House. The Protector consulting him, with others, April 21st, whether it were not fit to dissolve his Parliament, he, the Lord Commissioner, doubted the success of it, and wished they were permitted to sit a little longer, especially when they had begun to consider of raising money whereby they would engage the army. But the General Council of Officers having taken a resolution to displace Richard, at that critical time White-locke was wary what to advise in this matter ; but declared his judgement honestly and for the Protector's good, when his advice was required. After the Officers had assumed the Government without a single person, kingship, or House of Peers, his office of Commissioner of the Great Seal ceased ; but he was named one of the Council of State, May 13.

“ In those distracted times he was accused of holding

a correspondence with Sir Edward Hyde and other friends and ministers of Charles II.; but he positively denied it, and desired no favour if they could prove any such thing against him; so the matter dropped. On the 5th June he was named Commissioner, with Algernon Sidney and Sir Robert Honeywood, to go and mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark; but disliking Sidney's haughtiness and overruling temper, he got himself excused from that troublesome business. He was succeeded in this mission by Sir Philip Meadows, who succeeded in composing the differences of these States, and signed, as mediator, the Peace of Roskilde.

“Being President of the Council of State, Whitelocke was very active in taking measures to suppress the insurrections of Sir George Booth and others, about that time, and, on the 3rd of September, joined in the votes that were passed for an engagement to be taken by military officers to renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart and the whole line of King James, and of every other person, as a single person, pretending to the government of these nations. About this time he was promoting a union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, for which he brought a Bill into Parliament on the 30th of July. General Monk hearing that the conduct of that union was left to Whitelocke, he sent him letters of high compliment, wherein he wished he might see him in Scotland. Happy would it have been for him had he accepted of that invitation, as most probably a man of his good sense would have joined the

General in the King's restoration. But his ill fate kept him at home, where, October 22nd, he was nominated one of the Committee of Ten, to consider of fit ways to carry on the affairs of the Government, and, the 26th of the same month, one of the twenty-three members of the Committee of Safety, for the preservation of the peace, and management of the present Government, as also for the preparing of a form of Government for these nations upon the foundation of a free State. This charge, he says, he accepted, upon the earnest solicitation of his friends, to preserve the magistracy, ministry, and the law. November 1, the Great Seal was put again into his hands; and November 16, he was appointed one of the Committee of Nineteen, to determine the qualifications of Members of Parliament.

“General Monk and many of his officers, having now declared for the remains of the Long Parliament against the officers of the army in England, the Committee of Safety issued out commissions for raising new forces; and the Lord Commissioner accepted of one for a regiment of horse. To counterbalance Monk's endeavours and proceedings, he and some of the principal officers represented, November 8, to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, that the bottom of his design was to bring in the King by a new civil war, the danger of which to the city and nation he represented; and advised them to provide for their own safety, and to unite for the preservation of the peace and the safety of the whole nation. And when Lambert, deluded by Monk's

pretensions of peace, stopped the march of his forces northward, Whitelocke, foreseeing that Monk only sought delays till he could bring up his army to London, wrote to Lambert to advance speedily with all his forces, and endeavour to attack Monk and bring the matter to an issue before he was better provided; but his advice was not followed.

“The various tumults and insurrections almost in every part of the nation now filled him with the utmost perplexity and distraction. He wished himself well out of these daily hazards, and knew not how to get free of them. He much furthered the meeting of a new Parliament, a proclamation for which came out the 15th of December. But being hurried with the repeated and certain advices that Monk’s design was to bring in the King without any terms for the Parliament party, whereby all their lives and fortunes would be at the mercy of the King and his adherents, who were sufficiently enraged, he went, December 22, to Fleetwood, and proposed to him this alternative, either to order all his forces to be drawn together, and himself and his friends to appear at the head of them and see what stand they could make, or else immediately to send some trusty person to the King, with offers of his own and his friends’ services for restoring the King to his right, and that upon such terms as the King should agree upon; and he offered to go himself. But Fleetwood refusing to do it without Lambert’s consent, who was at too great a distance, this proposal dropped. The

next day Colonel Ingoldsby and others intimated to him that his condition required he should go to the King with the Great Seal, which overture he did not however comply with.*

“The remains of the Long Parliament being assembled, December 26, Whitelocke found that he was to expect no quarter from them,—Scot, Nevil, and others having threatened to take away his life, and Scot in particular having said that he should be hanged with the Great Seal about his neck for having acted in the Committee of Safety. Therefore he thought it safest not to appear in the House. However, the Speaker having by letter required his attendance and used also persuasions, he came to the House for about two days. But observing that many of his old acquaintance looked very cool upon him, and being informed of a design of some in the House to question him and have him sent to the Tower, he thought fit to provide for his own safety by retiring privately to a friend’s house in the country. Before that he left order with his wife to carry the Great Seal to the Speaker, which she did, locked up in a desk, and gave him the key. She also burnt many of his papers relating to public affairs, which Whitelocke seems to lament, as it was the occasion of his ‘Memorials’ being less perfect than he wished them to be. The rest of his

* [Lord Campbell has however shown, in his *Life of Whitelocke* (‘*Lives of the Chancellors*,’ vol. iii.), that but for the pusillanimity of Fleetwood, Whitelocke would probably have carried the Great Seal to Breda, and that the Restoration might then have been accomplished with some legal securities for the liberties of the kingdom.]

conduct seems, even by his own account, to have been irresolute and inconsistent, or, if consistent in anything, it was in so yielding to circumstances as not to appear very obnoxious to either party. As he had however attached himself so long to the enemies of the King, the utmost he could expect was to be allowed to sink into obscurity. Yet it was by a small majority only that he was included in the Act of Pardon and Oblivion which passed after the Restoration. When he had obtained this, he was admitted into the presence of Charles II., who received him very graciously, and dismissed him in these words: "Mr. Whitelocke, go into the country; do not trouble yourself any more about State affairs, and take care of your wife and your sixteen children." This must have mortified a man who had acted so conspicuous a part in State affairs; he took his Majesty's advice however, and spent the remaining fifteen years of his life at Chilton Park, in Wiltshire, and died there January 28, 1676. He was interred in the church of Fawley, in Buckinghamshire.

"Mr. Whitelocke was thrice married. First to Miss Bennet, of the city of London, by whom he had a son, James, who was settled at Trumpington, near Cambridge, and left two sons, both of whom died unmarried. His second wife was Frances, daughter of Lord Willoughby of Parham, by whom he had nine children. His third wife was Mrs. Wilson, a widow, whose maiden name was Carleton; and this is the lady who figures in this narrative. She survived him, and by her also he had several

children. The eldest of this last marriage inherited Chilton Park."

Amongst the statesmen of the Commonwealth of England it is impossible to assign a very high rank to Bulstrode Whitelocke. He had not the independence and elevation of character of Sir Harry Vane. He had not the haughty republican enthusiasm of Sidney. He had not the faith in republican institutions which filled the mind of Harrington. Although he served the Commonwealth, and even drew up the Ordinance for the abolition of kingly power, he never disguised his preference for the Monarchy; and nothing can be more characteristic of this bias of his mind to monarchical government than the fact that he, the Parliamentary Commissioner of the Great Seal, hastened to celebrate the Restoration by an elaborate treatise on the King's Writ. He on all occasions repudiated all participation in the judgement and execution of Charles I.; and the volumes now before the reader show with what subtlety he contrived, in answer to the searching questions of Queen Christina and Oxenstiern, to assert the authority of the Government he served, without defending the principles in which it had originated.

The language he puts into the mouth of his wife in one of the conversations recorded in these volumes exactly describes his position:—"Though you are serviceable in some things, yet you are not thoroughpaced for them in all things which they would have you do. You

refused to act in *the great business* (the King's trial); you opposed the breaking of the Parliament, and other unjust things;" and Mrs. Whitelocke added, that she would never have married him had it been otherwise. Lord Clarendon had mentioned him in early life among his friends, and always bore testimony to the deserved reputation of Whitelocke as a lawyer, as well as to his general accomplishments; "and though," adds the great historian of that period, "he did afterwards bow the knee to Baal, and so removed from his allegiance, it was with less rancour and malice than other men. He never led, but followed; and was rather carried away by the torrent than swam with the stream; and failed through those infirmities which less than a general defection and a prosperous rebellion could never have discovered." Again, Lord Clarendon has elsewhere described him as "from the beginning concurring with the Parliament, without any inclinations to their persons or principles; and," says he, "he had the same reasons afterwards not to separate from them. All his estate was in their quarters, and he had a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone; though to his friends, who were Commissioners for the King, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all the proceedings of his party, yet could not leave them." He was in fact a timid and time-serving politician, who might have lived and died in less agitated times as a Courtier, a Crown lawyer, or the Head of a College.

Of Cromwell, Whitelocke evidently entertained the

worst opinion. He distrusted him for his treachery, and he feared him for his violence. In this Journal,—written, as Whitelocke says, for his own family, but completed, as I have already hinted, after the Restoration and in his years of retirement,—Cromwell is frequently described as a tyrant and a usurper. Doubts are suggested whether it was lawful to serve at all under a Commission emanating from such an authority; and the danger of incurring the resentment of the all-powerful General by a refusal of this mission is represented as even greater than the danger of undertaking it. Whitelocke's servant, Cooke, says to his master:—

“I have heard that our great man, I mean my Lord General, would have you to go; and if it be so, and yet you will stay at home, I doubt there may be as much danger for you to stay as to go.”

Whitelocke replies, “I am not under his command. What can he do to me?”

To which his domestic rejoins, “What can he do? What can he not do? Do we not all see that he does what he list?”

Such was the terror and subjection which the head of the revolutionary Government had imposed even upon its supporters, its counsellors, and its chosen instruments!

But Whitelocke had not the heroism to resist this sort of influence, and afterwards recorded these bitter commentaries on the power he had long served. He not only accepted this Embassy, and continued on his return to hold the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, but

he consented to figure prominently in the ceremony of Cromwell's inauguration in 1657; and he gave the benefit of his counsels to a Government which had attempted to violate in his own person the judicial independence of the Court of Chancery. His legal erudition, which was much increased by his intimacy with Selden, sometimes rose into pedantry; and he practised amidst the ruins of a Court the arts and formal graces of a courtier. His exceeding industry and general correctness of detail give, however, great value to the collections he left to his family and to posterity, as Memorials of his life; and amongst these the 'Journal of the Embassy to Sweden' is by far his most finished performance.

These qualities, and even these defects, admirably fitted him for the purposes of this mission; and Cromwell evidently selected Whitelocke, with that commanding knowledge of men which was one of his highest gifts, to be an instrument of the grand design of foreign policy by which he spread the fame of the English Commonwealth abroad, and laid the basis of a system destined to survive the ephemeral institutions out of which it sprang. While France and Spain were bidding against each other for the alliance of the English Protector, Cromwell adhered to the principles of those Protestant alliances of the North which might, if necessary, render him independent of both the great Catholic Monarchies. The struggle of the Thirty Years' War was barely terminated; for the same year which closed the Conferences of Westphalia and established the peace of

Germany consigned the King of England to the block, and the English Monarchy to temporary extinction. Throughout that contest, England had borne no part in it worthy of herself or of the great cause which was at stake. The pusillanimity of James struck no blow for the Crown of his own daughter; and the misfortunes of Charles left him without a voice in the affairs of Europe. It was Sweden which had played the glorious part of champion and leader of the Protestant cause, and which sent forth the heroic Gustavus and the politic Oxenstiern to vindicate the rights of the Protestant States. The wisdom of Swedish statesmen and the valour of Swedish armies had extended the territories of that kingdom over the shores of the Baltic, and almost all that now forms the Baltic coast of Russia was then part of the Swedish dominions. Finland was till a much later period one of its most national provinces. St. Petersburg had not yet risen above the marshy shores of the Neva. But Narva, Revel, Riga, and the Pomeranian shores, lent their seamen, their men-at-arms, and their trade to the resources of Sweden, and made her the first of the Baltic Powers. It chanced that whilst Whitelocke himself was at the Court of Upsal, an Envoy from the Czar of Muscovy was to be received by Queen Christina; and amongst those who marvelled at the uncouth appearance and barbarous manners of this savage emissary, none could have surmised that less than a century would transfer the supremacy of the North from the descendants of the immortal Gustavus to the despotic and su-

perstitious Power which had not yet emerged from the Russian steppes and forests. Well would it have been for Europe if Sweden had retained the position to which her greatest Sovereign and Minister had raised her, and if the insane audacity of Charles XII. had not sunk before the barbarous but creative genius of Peter the Great!

Exactly two hundred years have elapsed since White-locke proceeded to the Court of Upsal, and laid the basis of that close amity between Sweden and this country which has seldom been interrupted, and never but to our mutual injury. But though the power of Britain has increased in that interval and the power of Sweden has declined, many of the same considerations and inducements exist in equal or in greater force at this moment, to lead the statesmen of England to give their best support to the Crown of Sweden, and to desire that Sweden should regain that ascendancy in the Baltic which she so gloriously acquired and exercised in the seventeenth century.

The Swedish Monarchy of that age seemed fitted beyond every other State of Northern Europe for conquest and for empire. Her Scandinavian infantry, her Finlanders and her Pomeranian grenadiers, formed the nucleus of an army which was not surpassed by any troops in Europe. The manly population of the Northern Germanic provinces, including Esthonia and Courland and the greater part of the Baltic coast, were incorporated in her service. And to this day, when so large a por-

tion of the former conquests and ancient possessions of Sweden have unhappily passed under the rule of other States less friendly to the policy of Britain, the descendants of the martial races which fought under Gustavus Adolphus and his successors are the ablest generals and the boldest soldiers of the Russian and Prussian armies. Wrangel, Lüders, Sievers, Osten-Sacken, Dannenberg, and many of the most conspicuous names in the present contest, belong to provinces once included in the Swedish dominions; for Russia, with her despotic Government and her superstitious Church, has borrowed her wisest statesmen and her best commanders from races trained under freer institutions and a more enlightened faith.

Amongst the arguments used by Whitelocke and his friends to justify his acceptance of the Embassy, the political interests of the Protestant cause were the strongest. The Protestant Princes of Germany were weak and divided,—the French Protestants overpowered at home,—the Swiss too far off,—the Netherlanders too much in league with the Dane and in love with trade,—“so that,” as Whitelocke adds, “the English only are the people with whom the Swedes may hope for a firm amity and union for the Protestant interest against the common enemy thereof, the Popish party.”

The conception of this Embassy and of its political results was however due to Cromwell rather than to Whitelocke, and the Ambassador had no serious difficulties to overcome in the course of his negotiation. The

articles he was charged to obtain were apparently framed at Whitehall before he started, and the discussions he carried on with the Swedish Plenipotentiaries were chiefly of a formal character. The fact to which Cromwell attached importance was, that an Envoy of the Commonwealth of England should set forth on his mission with as much state and magnificence, and be received in a foreign Court with as much respect, as ever waited on the Ambassadors of the Crown; and again, the mere conclusion of a treaty of alliance between England and Sweden was a point of greater moment than the terms in which it was framed. The honorary and ostentatious part of Whitelocke's Embassy, on which he dilates with extreme pride and complacency, in language not unworthy of the Diary of Mr. Pepys, was not a less serious matter, especially in the stately Courts of the seventeenth century, than the political objects for which he was instructed to contend.

With the exception of the unfortunate mission of Dr. Dorislaus to Holland, this was the first Embassy which had gone abroad in the name of the Commonwealth of England. Even the recognition of the titles and precedence of the Agents of the new form of government was a matter of uncertainty; for though the Agents of France, Spain, and Sweden still resided in London, they had not resumed the formal diplomatic character. Whitelocke reports with satisfaction from Gothenburg, that the magistrates of that town had acknowledged in their address "*Liberam Angliæ Rempublicam*," and ex-

acts with equal care the title of Excellency from a Dutch skipper. Hence the importance attached to the external splendour of the Embassy. It consisted of a numerous suite of gentlemen and servants, amounting in all to one hundred persons; and its expenses were allowed at the rate of about £1000 a month, which Whitelocke still regarded as inadequate, and was led to exceed.

The Ambassador of the Commonwealth was proud to show that he was still a highbred gentleman, and that an English Envoy was as jealous of his personal dignity and public character as he would have been under Elizabeth or the Stuarts. For this purpose Whitelocke was admirably chosen. His conversation was learned and polite; his knowledge of his profession, the law, had invigorated his understanding; his religious sentiments were both constant and fervent, but entirely free from the austerity and hypocrisy of the dominant sects of that day; and his humour, though somewhat ponderous, was not devoid of shrewdness and good-nature. Few men of his time combined a greater variety of the accomplishments which were more varied in his age than in our own. He had figured with applause in the conduct of a masque in the Middle Temple Hall before King Charles and Henrietta Maria; and he informs the French Resident at Upsal that the King of France once gave him the command of a troop of horse in his service. He served with activity in the Civil Wars, and was consulted by Fairfax in the conduct of his sieges; but he also filled the office of Chairman of Quarter Sessions for the

county of Bucks ; practised at the bar with so much success that he made £2000 a year, and had nearly all the retainers on the Western Circuit ; and eventually held the Great Seal of England during the whole period of the Commonwealth. He spoke with success in Parliament, commanded a squadron at sea, and negotiated a treaty with the first Minister of that age. As a lawyer he had the unquestionable merit of an earnest resolution to uphold the independence of his profession, and to reform its abuses. His erudition had endeared him to Selden, who summoned him to his side at the last moments of life, and made him his executor ; and whilst he held the dignity of Constable of Windsor Castle as a post of honour in the State, he solicited from Cromwell the humbler but more appropriate dignity of Provost of Eton College.

I am acquainted with but two engraved portraits of Whitelocke, both of which are rare. The one is an etching engraved by Stent, from Gaywood's picture ; the other, which occurs in Payne Fisher's ' Latin Panegyrics,' is a brilliant portrait, engraved by Faithorne, representing Whitelocke in a suit of plate-armour. The volume in question contains one of Fisher's extravagant effusions in Latin verse on the subject of this Embassy, entitled ' *Negotiatio Whitlocciana, vel in decessum reditumque viri nobilissimi Domini Bulstrodi Whitloci nuper in Sueciam Legati perexcellentissimi gratulatoria,*' which however is scarcely surpassed in turgid adulation by the verses on himself which Whitelocke has recorded

and translated in these volumes. In person Whitelocke is described as comely, grave, and dignified; but he complains of habitual lameness, and speaks of himself as prematurely old at forty-nine, though he lived to complete his seventieth year. One of the chief merits of this record of his Embassy appears to be, its fidelity as a picture of the manners of the age, and especially of the remarkable persons who figure in its pages. Conversations of Cromwell, Queen Christina, and Oxenstiern, faithfully noted down by him to whom they were addressed, are memorials of no common interest; and I am the more inclined to give them credit for authenticity and accuracy, as the observations of these personages reported by Whitelocke have a degree of force and originality to which he himself seldom aspires.

The present Editor has purposely confined within a narrow compass the notes and observations annexed to this edition. The notes for which he is responsible are included in brackets; the spelling of the work has been modernized, though Dr. Morton had retained the spelling of the original manuscript, which savours of quaintness and affectation at the present day. Marginal notes have been added, for the convenience of reference; and the more important parts of the Appendix, selected by Dr. Morton from other manuscripts of Whitelocke, have been subjoined to the text.

H. R.

JOURNAL
OF
THE SWEDISH EMBASSY
IN THE YEARS 1653 AND 1654.

AUGUST 23, 1653.

WHITELOCKE being in Bedfordshire, at the house of his kind friend Mr. Cokaine, he received letters from London from his old and faithful servant Mr. Daniel Earle. Part of them were to this effect :—

Whitelocke
named Am-
bassador to
Sweden.

“ When I waited on Sir Charles Oulsey, he was pleased to tell me that you were named by the Council of State to go ambassador into Sweden; and that my Lord General had undertaken to write to your Lordship about it. I presume ere this you have heard from him.”

With this Whitelocke was much surprised, it being altogether unexpected, and of vast concernment to him and his family, as well as to the public; yet he showed not much disturbance at the letter, but communicated it to his wife, and some few friends then with him, who were unwilling to believe it; but his wife was much disquieted, whom Whitelocke sought to comfort, and persuade to a constant submission to

the will of God, and not to be troubled at this or any other ill news; since none could do anything against them, or to the least prejudice of them, but what God should permit, who would cause all things to work together for their good.

The letter was often read and paraphrased upon, and several meanings of it collected; but Whitelocke saw it to be positive in the relation and news, that he was named by the Council of State to go ambassador to Sweden; and the sense thereof was plain, and too easy to be understood, though the grounds and occasions of this nomination were not expressed.*

August 24, 1653.

Viscount
Lisle had
been named
previously
by the Long
Parliament.

Much discourse was between Whitelocke and his wife and friends upon yesterday's news; and how it

* [Whitelocke was at this time absent from London, remote from public affairs, and in partial disgrace. He had been excluded by Cromwell from the list of 139 persons who formed the Barebones Parliament, convoked at Whitehall on the 6th July preceeding, to take upon themselves the supreme authority of this nation; and although he still held the Great Seal as Lord Commissioner, one of the first measures of the new Parliament was to vote that the Court of Chancery should be taken away. Hence Whitelocke says, in his 'Memorials,' that on his appointment to the Swedish Embassy, "much company came to visit me, because some of them thought I might come in favour again, though before being left out of the Little Parliament; and a vote having passed for the taking away the Chancery, these very persons neglected their former frequent visits." Cromwell's object in making the appointment was obviously to send into honourable exile a man whom he respected and feared, especially since Whitelocke had, a few months before (November, 1652), recommended Cromwell to restore Charles II., by re-establishing the Monarchy on a constitutional basis; whereas in December, 1653, a few weeks after Whitelocke's departure on his mission, Cromwell was declared sole head of the Commonwealth, and installed by the other Commissioners of the Great Seal.]

should come to pass that he should be named for this employment, when another had been named for it before—the Lord Viscount Lisle, eldest son to the Earl of Leicester, who had undertaken it. Whitelocke told them that it was true, that in the Long Parliament, before it was invaded and broken by Cromwell's forces (which was an act of no less imprudence and rashness than of insolence), that the Lord Viscount Lisle* was named by that Parliament, and voted to go ambassador to Sweden; that he accepted of the employment, and had begun to make some preparations for it. But Whitelocke told them withal, which they remembered, that before the Lord Viscount Lisle was named, Whitelocke was named in that Parliament to go ambassador to Sweden; but he was not then, nor is now, ambitious of that honour, but solicited against it; and it was not then prosecuted, but the Lord Viscount Lisle named afterwards, who undertook the service, received money in part for the defraying of his expenses: and how it should come to pass since that he should be excused, and Whitelocke to be nominated for it, was hard to be apprehended. Whitelocke and his friends still expected to have further intelligence from London about this business, but none came; it being usual for those gentlemen who voted his going to Sweden, to let affairs remain in suspense till called upon by such as are more particularly concerned in them. Whitelocke held it not convenient for him as yet to take any notice of this vote of the Council, nor to hasten to London, but continued in his retirement: though not a little interrupted therein by the letter

* [Lord Viscount Lisle was the third Commissioner of the Great Seal, and Sir Thomas Widdrington the second.]

from Mr. Earle, yet he enjoyed his privacy and recreations.

August 25, 1653.

White-
locke's sus-
pense.

Letters were written this day by Whitelocke to Earle, that if he heard anything further touching the business of Sweden, he should inform his master thereof; yet not to be inquisitive about it, nor to speak with any of the Council, except Sir Charles Oulsey, concerning it, lest thereby the business might be reminded and revived, which Whitelocke much rather desired; as to himself, might for ever die and be forgotten.

The cautions which he gave to his old servant were fully and punctually observed by him; and the longer it was before Whitelocke heard further touching this business, the more his hopes were increased that he might have the good fortune never to hear more of it.

August 26, 1653.

No further news yet came of the business of Sweden; and Whitelocke, wife, and friends were willing to persuade themselves that a business of this consequence could not be so long neglected, and nothing to be done in it, but that, as to Whitelocke, the same was laid aside, and that they should hear no more of it, which they promised themselves. Nevertheless they were not without some daily fear and expectation of that which they desired not to know; and, in the meantime, the gentlemen who managed all at London for a time forgot this business, as a small matter scarce worthy their remembrance, although

themselves often acknowledged that the safety and good of this Commonwealth and of the whole Protestant interest did depend upon it.

August 27, 1653.

Still were Whitelocke, wife, and friends pleased that no further news came of the Swedish business, though they heard of it too soon afterwards; and, in the meantime, they were full of thoughts and discourses why the Lord Viscount Lisle should be excused from this service, which before he had undertaken; and, on the other hand, why Whitelocke should be the man pitched upon for this service, whom they imagined not to be in so much favour with Cromwell and his friends, as to be preferred to any honourable employment by them. He was left out of Cromwell's Council, and out of that assembly which now sat and called themselves a Parliament; and he made no suit to be of either of those councils.

Motives for
White-
locke's ap-
pointment.

To this it was said, that the Lord Viscount Lisle might be useful here in Cromwell's affairs, and was of the Council and Little Parliament, and therefore could not so well be spared as Whitelocke, who, although he were not much in their favour who governed, whom he had opposed in their exorbitant courses, was the more likely to be sent abroad, that they might thereby be quit of his further opposing them.

August 28, 1653.

The Lord's Day, after public exercises of religious worship, Whitelocke retired himself to his private

White-
locke's me-
ditations on
this ap-
pointment.

meditations upon the holy Word of Truth, the greatest and highest comfort to a soul. He considered the vanity of earthly honours and preferments in this world, the uncertainty, toil, and danger in them. He consulted his own heart, and found not the least inclination to accept of the high employment and honour to which he heard the Council had voted him; but much rather wished a continuance of his privacy, and an exemption from public charge and offices, from which he expected rather a further and total dismissal, which would have been more contentment and satisfaction to his thoughts, than the intended employment or any preferment which Cromwell and the present powers could put upon him. His wishes and prayers were, that he might be excused thereof, if God saw it good, and might continue in the private enjoyment of the ordinances of God, and of the comfort of his wife and family.

August 29, 1653.

Further
letters of
State
written.

The Lord Viscount Lisle, more particularly concerned in the business of Sweden than others, and to get himself wholly excused from it, about this time (as Whitelocke was afterwards informed) did put Cromwell in mind, that the Council had ordered letters to be written by his Excellency and by Sir Gilbert Pickering to Whitelocke, to signify to him the Council's vote in this business, and that the letters were not yet written.

Whereupon Cromwell and Pickering conferred together about it: and Cromwell's secretary was appointed to draw up a letter to Whitelocke for that

purpose, to be sent to him if he were in town, or into the country if he were there, as some informed he was. In the meantime, Whitelocke neglected not to ride abroad and take the fresh air in the country; a pleasure much beyond the insinuating cringes of caps and knees, and more valuable than the dear-earned fees and salaries.

August 30, 1653.

The proceedings at Whitehall were slow in the Swedish business, and Whitelocke had no cause to hasten them, but to wish them yet slower. He was not grieved that there came hitherto no further intelligence about them, nor any summons for his repair to London, which he every day expected; but, whilst he had the liberty, took the pleasure of riding forth into the open fields and enclosed grounds, contemplating on the goodness of God, who had bestowed on Englishmen so pleasant, healthful, and fruitful a country as this island; and the inconsiderateness of those who will leave such a country, to please their fond humours of travelling to see foreign countries, when they have a better at home; and the unhappiness of those who are sent abroad upon public errands, and, instead of recompense for their hazards and service, are more likely to incur displeasure, and perhaps destruction.

White-
locke's
pleasure in
his own
country.

August 31, 1653.

According to directions, Cromwell's secretary brought to his master and Sir Gilbert Pickering the draft of a letter to be sent from them to Whitelocke; but the

His love of
retirement.

frame of the letter did not please Cromwell, so that he cast it by, and said he would write a letter himself to be sent to Whitelocke.

All this time Whitelocke heard no further intelligence from London about this Swedish journey, notwithstanding that he had written again to Mr. Earle to make a wary inquiry about it ; which, it seems, was so wary, that he gained no more intelligence concerning this matter than what he had first sent unto his master : who had enough thereby to exercise his thoughts, and to give a disturbance to the pleasing retirement which he before that enjoyed, and which he had both before and since that time learned, by too sad experience, to be the best and safest condition for any man in his earthly pilgrimage and labours of this life ; and that there is no rest, no abiding-place, to be met with here below.

SEPTEMBER.

September 1, 1653.

THE business of Sweden was still deferred; but it being intimated to Whitelocke that the Council had ordered letters to be written to him about that business, and to require his repair to London, he and his friends thought it now fit for him to return thither, and to endeavour, if he could, to prevent any further progress in that affair, as it related to himself.

He therefore appointed within a day or two to begin his journey; which being taken notice of, divers persons of quality of the neighbourhood came to take their leaves of him, expressing, as they had often done before, much civility and respect to him. Some of them, in discourse, seemed to have heard of his being designed to go ambassador; but Whitelocke held it not fit, nor delighted to take any notice thereof, nor to own it.

September 2, 1653.

The Lord Viscount Lisle again reminded Cromwell of the letter to be sent to Whitelocke; and Cromwell thereupon himself drew a letter, and showed it

Whitelocke
repairs to
London.

Cromwell
himself
writes to
Whitelocke.

to Pickering, who seldom disliked what was done by Cromwell: they both signed the letter; and it, being sealed, was delivered to a messenger, with command to find out Whitelocke, and to deliver the letter to him; who was yet in the pleasant and healthful country air, and enjoyment of the recreations there; but he must prepare for his journey to London the next day.

September 3, 1653.

Arrives at
Chelsea.

The messenger of the Council was at Whitelocke's house at Chelsea, to inquire for him, and to deliver the letter to him; but the servants answered, that their master was not yet come to town, but that he was this night expected there. He came (though late) to his house at Chelsea, where his servants informed him of the messenger having been there, and saying that he would come again tomorrow. This was unwelcome news to Whitelocke's wife and friends, who were troubled at it; but himself, submitting all to the will of God, was least disquieted.

This coming of the messenger occasioned new discourses about this business, and renewed the fears and troubles of his nearest relations, frustrating all their hopes that the business was laid aside.

September 4, 1653.

Cromwell's
letter
brought to
Whitelocke.

The messenger of the Council kept his word; and this morning (although the Lord's Day), before Whitelocke was out of his bed, brought the General's letter to him; the copy whereof was this:—

*“For the Right Honourable the Lord Whitelocke,
one of the Commissioners of the Seal. These.*

“MY LORD,

“The Council of State, having thoughts of putting your Lordship to the trouble of being extraordinary ambassador to the Queen of Swizland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto; wherefore they were pleased to command our services in making this address to your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour, and abilities for this employment. To which we, begging your answer, do rest,

“My Lord,

“Your humble servants,

“O. CROMWELL,

“GIL. PICKERING.

“September 2, 1653.”

This letter was all written with Cromwell's own hand; and upon the communicating of it by Whitelocke to his friends with him, several interpretations were made upon the words of the letter; as those, “not to impose the service,” seemed to allow some liberty and hopes to get off from it, more than afterwards he found.

Others noted the words of courtship, of “honour and abilities,” to declare their expectation that he should undertake what they judged him so fit for; but Whitelocke thought most proper to know his meaning from himself, and for that end to wait on him the next day.

In the evening, Colonel Sidney, brother to the Lord Viscount Lisle, came to visit Whitelocke; and, as some supposed, sent by his brother to sift and try

whether Whitelocke were like to undertake what he had left.

All the aver'seness that could be to it was expressed by Whitelocke, who prayed the Colonel ingenuously to declare the reason of his brother's declining this service; whether he scrupled the authority of those that were to send him, or doubted the success of the treaty, or avoided the dangers of the journey; or what it was, after his having undertaken the service, which occasioned him to decline it.

The Colonel answered, that if his brother had scrupled the authority, he would not have been of their Council and Parliament; that he held the authority of the last Parliament, when they designed him for this embassy, and the present powers (as to legality), much alike; that he judged the treaty very probable to have good success; that the dangers of the journey he confessed to be great, but much greater to his brother than another, by reason of his want of health; that when he was appointed to go, it was in summer, but now the winter was coming on; and that he was of such a constitution, that he hardly could endure the cold of England, much less of Sweden; and he protested seriously, that he thought the employment honourable, not difficult; and that the only cause of his brother's desire to be now excused from it, was his want of health, and no other reason.

Viscount
Lisle
presses
Whitelocke
to accept
the em-
bassy.

After he was gone, came the Lord Commissioner Lisle to Whitelocke, to bid him welcome home; he most earnestly persuaded Whitelocke to undertake the service, as that which would be a very great honour and advantage to him and his family, and to his profession, whereas his refusal of it would extremely

endanger him and his fortune ; that those in power would be highly offended at it, and all clamours of persons discontented at anything that he had done would be let loose upon him, and favoured against him ; and though he were free from the least corruption, yet in these times it was not prudent to put a man's self upon the danger of complaints, and to judges not his friends ; but his accepting the service would be honourable, safe, and mightily obliging those in power, and prove the greatest good that could be to him and his.

Some supposed that Lisle had a further reach than he mentioned, in his persuasion of Whitelocke : he feared the present Parliament would strike at the Chancery to take it away, which had been moved among them ; and he thought Whitelocke undertaking this service might be a good means to prevent that prejudice to him, and that he might be the greater man in Whitelocke's absence.

Many other arguments and discourses they had about it, till the lateness of the evening parted them.

September 5, 1653.

Early in the morning Whitelocke went to Pickering, who told him that he was named *nullo contradicente* ; that it was intended for his honour, would not be forced upon him, but well taken, if accepted by him.

White-
locke's
interview
with Crom-
well on his
appoint-
ment.

Whitelocke acquainted him with his objections, and his wife's present condition ; of which Pickering seemed very sensible : they went together to the General, who presently came to them, and they had this discourse.

Whitelocke. My Lord, I received your excellent letter

but yesterday, and am now come to wait upon you to return my humble thanks for the great honour done me, in being judged worthy of so high a trust ; but I beg your Excellency's consideration of my want of abilities, both of body and mind, for this service, and the season of the year ; besides, there are some things relating to my private family, wherewith I have acquainted Sir Gilbert Pickering, which are of no small concernment to me.

Pickering. That is, my Lord, that his lady is near her time of being brought to bed.

Wh. My Lord, I am very free to serve the Commonwealth in anything within my capacity ; and hope they will not expect from me what will be so great prejudice to me and my family, as this employment now would be.

Cromwell. I am very sorry that the letter came no sooner to you.

Pickering. I confess it was my fault.

Crom. Sir Gilbert Pickering would needs write a very fine letter, and, when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that letter to you. And the business is of exceeding great importance to the Commonwealth, as any can be ; that it is : and there is no Prince or State in Christendom with whom there is any probability for us to have a friendship, but only the Queen of Sweden. She hath sent several times to us, but we have returned no embassy to her, only a letter by a young gentleman ; she expects an ambassador from us, and if we should not send a man of eminency to her, she would think herself slighted by us : and she is a lady of great honour, and stands much upon ceremonies.

W^m. The business being of so great concernment (as indeed it is), there is the more need of a person qualified with abilities for so great a charge, which I have not, as your Excellency and all that know me will conclude ; and I know best my own defects. I want experience in foreign affairs and matters of state ; in language and ceremony, of which the Queen is so great a judge, and a lady that will soon discern my disabilities, and make advantage thereof ; nor will she look upon me as a person of eminency fit to be sent to her. So that (with submission to the judgement of your Excellency and the Council) I must conclude myself altogether unfit for this very weighty and high employment, whereof divers other in the nation are far more capable than I am.

Crom. The Council have pitched upon you unanimously, as the fittest man in the nation for this service ; we know your abilities, having long conversed with you ; we know you have languages, and have travelled, and understand the interest of Christendom ; and I have known you in the army to endure hardships, and to be healthful and strong, and of mettle, discretion, and parts most fit for this employment : you are so indeed ; really no man is so fit for it as you are. We know you to be a gentleman of a good family, related to persons of honour ; and your present office of Commissioner of the Seal will make you the more acceptable to her. I do earnestly desire you to undertake it, wherein you will do an act of great merit, and advantage to the Commonwealth, as great as any one member of it can perform ; and which will be as well accepted by them. The business is very honourable, and exceeding likely to have good success. Her public

ministers here have already agreed upon most of the material and main points of the business ; if it had not been such an employment, we would not have put you upon it : the business of trade, and of the funds, and touching the Dutch, are such as there cannot be any of greater consequence.

Wh. Your Excellency will pardon me if I cannot subscribe to your favourable opinion of me ; and I should be sorry that a business of so great concernment should suffer under so weak a management as by my hand : besides, that which Sir Gilbert Pickering is pleased to tell you of my wife's condition, is, to my private comfort, of as high consequence as may be. I would not seem unkind or ungrateful to such a wife ; and this time of the year, it is hard for me to be put upon so difficult and dangerous a journey.

Crom. I know my Lady is a good woman, and a religious woman, and will be contented to suffer a little absence of her husband for the public good ; and for the time of the year, really the life of the business consists in the despatch of it at this time ; the Dutch are tampering with the Queen, but she holds them off, expecting to hear from us.

Wh. I see your Excellency is staid for. I shall have some occasions into the country, and about a fortnight hence I will wait on you again ; and in the meantime, you will give me leave to consider of this business.

Crom. I pray, my Lord Whitelocke, do not think of so long a time ; but let me entreat you to accept of the employment, and to return your answer within a few days to me.

Wh. I shall attend your Excellency.

After this and much more discourse to the same effect, Whitelocke returned, and related the same to his wife and friends, among whom he found differing judgements ; his wife full of tears and objections against it ; his eldest son for it, youth making slight of dangers, and himself hoping to go with his father.

His eldest daughter, now grown a woman, and of good parts, was much against it, fearing to be deprived of a loving father, as she was of her dear mother ;* and she expressed much love and tenderness to him, and to her mother, sisters, and brethren.

Other friends were for his going, chiefly to create and keep a considerable interest in the General, who did what he pleased, and in the army and present powers, which might be a shield and advantage to him and his family ; and some of them most insisted upon the promoting of the Protestant interest in those parts whither he was to go.

September 6, 1653.

Little else but the business of Sweden was the discourse in Whitelocke's house ; his wife was full of it, took all occasions to declare her mind, and give her faithful advice to her husband in it. Some of their discourse containing the grounds of debate, not only with her, but with others (and this work being intended for his own family), is therefore inserted, and may seem the less trivial.

Whitelocke discusses the appointment with his wife.

Wife. I perceive the General is most earnestly set upon it, to send you this journey ; but I beg of you not to yield to him : for all his power, do not prejudice yourself and family.

* [Whitelocke's first wife died in 1649.]

Wh. His power is great, and hard to be opposed; but I shall not stick to do it, to preserve you and my children, as well as myself. I desire you to moderate your passions and tears, lest you bring sickness upon yourself, which will be worse than this journey to me.

Wife. How can I forbear tears, at the fear and thought of parting with you, and danger never to see you again?

Wh. I see no such danger in it.

Wife. You see others refuse it; and then they pitch upon you to undertake it: and if it were so full of honour and advantage, why should others then decline it?

Wh. I have the General's word, that it is so intended to me.

Wife. So you had his letter that they would impose nothing on you; and yet you see how earnestly they press this upon you: he means no good to you, but would be rid of you.

Wh. Why should he desire to be rid of me, when I may be serviceable to him here?

Wife. Though you are serviceable in some things, yet you are not thoroughpaced for them in all things which they would have you to do; you refused to act in the great business; you opposed the breaking of the Parliament, and other unjust things.

Wh. Had I not done so, you and I had not met together.

Wife. It was the first thing I inquired of you; my first husband nor you were engaged; if you had, I should not have been engaged to you. I believe you lost by it much of the General's favour; and he

would take this occasion to lay you aside, that you might be no hindrance to his further designs.

Wh. What further designs can he have? He exercises more power than any king of England ever had, or claimed.

Wife. His ambition is higher than we can imagine : and you have often declared yourself for the law and rights of the people ; which, if they stand in his way, he will lay them, or you, or anything aside.

Wh. I believe he would do so.

Wife. He takes you to be such a person, and therefore would now send you out of the way.

Wh. If I be so ill thought of, it will be better for me to be out of the way, than to be here to cross and provoke them yet more.

Wife. But to be out of the way to hazard your life, will be sad for me : better to retire, and live privately in the country.

Wh. Nothing would be more pleasing to me in this world.

Wife. Consider that two who were sent abroad have been murdered;* and is there not cause to fear the like may not be attempted on you? It makes my heart to tremble ; if you love me and your children, do not expose yourself to these apparent dangers.

Wh. It is true that two of our public ministers have been killed ; but they had too little care of themselves : and it is possible the like assassination

* [Mrs. Whitelocke alludes to the murder of Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, on the 3rd May, 1649, at the Hague, by a party of masked cavaliers ; and of Anthony Ascham, who was killed in May, 1650, at Madrid. Both these persons had taken an active part in the judgement of Charles I., which Whitelocke had not.]

may be attempted on me ; but I shall be better provided for my defence, and be the more watchful by their warning ; and the same God that is with us here, and hath kept me in many dangers, will, I hope, be with me everywhere, and give me his protection.

Wife. I have four times crossed the sea, and it is a dreadful thing.

Wh. To women it is more than to men.

Wife. I went only between England and Holland, but your voyage will be long and dangerous, and in winter ; and I have heard that those seas are very rough, and the weather like to be bad.

Wh. I have been often at sea, and with a good wind ; this voyage may be in five or six days : I can brook the seas as well as most men, and have been used to storms both at sea and land.

Wife. You have the more reason now to desire rest.

Wh. There is no rest but in the grave.

Wife. There will be more at home than in this journey ; you will not be able to endure the cold and extremities of it.

Wh. I have endured many hardships ; and if God shall call me to this, he will enable me to bear it.

Wife. But why should you adventure yourself for those that do not wish you well, but rather, that you may never return ? as I think the General and his party do.

Wh. I see you are no great friend of theirs.

Wife. Nor are they your friends.

Wh. I believe the General is not so fond of me as of Sir Gilbert Pickering.

Wife. Nor would he shed many tears if you miscarry in the journey.

Wh. Not so many as you have shed for fear I should go ; yet he can shed tears sometimes.

Wife. Oh, let my tears and desires prevail with you not to put yourself and me upon those perils, to serve them that love you not !

Wh. The greater the perils are, the greater will be the goodness of God in my protection, and the greater will be the merit of the service. The work of God and one's country knoweth no dangers, at least feareth none ; and though the seas, and season, and climate are very great discouragements, yet a willing mind to do service to God, and one's country, and profession, and family, and friends, will help to surpass them all.

Wife. I see then you are inclined to undertake it : if I saw any likelihood of your doing service to God and his people in this journey, I should be the less troubled ; but I see nothing of that in it.

Wh. Unless that be made appear in it, I shall not incline to it ; and what I say, is only for argument and discoursè sake, and to debate it with thee, who art so much concerned in it.

Wife. I think it necessary to consider and weigh all objections, and whether the acceptance or refusal of it be best ; wherein, next yourself, none is so much concerned as I am, and I cannot bring my heart to incline to it.

Wh. If the General or any of my enemies have designed this for my prejudice, possibly I shall gratify their ill-will, and incur what they design, by my refusal ; but if I should undertake it, and God should bless me in it, that would weaken and disappoint the envy of my adversaries. A refusal at this time, added

to their former distastes of me, would increase the interest of my enemies, and diminish my own ; but by accepting it, I shall oblige those in power, and greatly advantage myself and relations.

Wife. Our greatest advantage will be to enjoy you, whose life is our chiefest worldly comfort, and your death (which more probably is to be expected in this journey) will be an irreparable loss to me and our twelve children, and a thirteenth coming,—most of them unable to help themselves ; and your friends and relations will have no small loss in you.

Wh. Whatever becomes of me, I have confidence in your love to my children, and care of them for my sake. I know religion and affection will guide you to it, and to deny yourself for the good of yours, and for the highest interest ; and if I should go, I hope our separation, through the goodness of God, would be but temporary and not long, and our meeting again with the more joy and comfort.

Wife. But you see my present condition.

Wh. I see it, and rejoice in the addition of God's mercies to us ; and hope, if I do go, yet I shall see you first safely delivered.

Wife. No, you must go presently.

Here again abundance of tears interrupted their discourse, and was no weak argument against the journey.

September 7, 1653.

Reasons for
and against
the employ-
ment.

Some of Whitelocke's friends, whose advice he asked in this business, were more reserved than usual, and not so free to give their positive advice in it, for fear of inconvenience which might either way

ensue. Others of his friends declared their judgments and reasons freely to him, for his undertaking of it, as others did against it.

Some, whose affections were not with the Parliament, yet advised him to undertake this employment, to preserve his interest in the present powers, and to be the better able to do them and himself good. Others, who were for the Parliament, yet were against his going, that they might have him here, and for his avoiding the dangers of the voyage. Those against his going objected, the dangers of the rough northern seas, of the enemies (Dutch and Danes), of the defeat to our navy, which would frustrate the Swedish business, and leave him and his company miserable abroad, as every disaster to our new Commonwealth would do ; also the extreme coldness of that country in the winter, the great change of climate and diet, want of accommodations and hardships, to one not used to them in his youth, and now in his crazy old-age* to be put to more than ordinary extremities.

To these it was answered, that the voyage by sea is not so dangerous as was apprehended ; and though they be rough seas, yet he would be in good ships, and might take his own time, and seldom would be far from some port to friend him. That the Dutch would be most in harbour in the winter ; and if any of their men-of-war should be abroad, they would not rashly set upon our frigates, such as would be sent with Whitelocke, and which they knew would fight ; nor was it usual to assault an ambassador : and as for the Danish ships, they were not considerable.

* [Whitelocke however was only in the forty-ninth year of his age at this time.]

September 8, 1653.

Argument
continued.

Every day Whitelocke advised with his friends about this great business, heard and weighed their objections and answers, some whereof were these :—

The danger of the land journey, and of assassination; his want of experience in state affairs and in trade; a subtle people to deal with, whose interest was their profit, and agreements not kept on other grounds; the inconveniences which might befall him in his absence, and his not being then minded and supplied.

To which was answered, that the country was indeed extreme cold, but against that he must provide warm clothing; that he would there find warm houses, and abundance of fuel; that, though the journey was very long, yet the ways were exceeding good, and order would be given for the repair of them, and for all accommodations for his journey; that strict care would be taken to prevent force upon him or assassination, and the people there were in perfect obedience, and none would dare to commit such a fact, either of the natives or strangers; and he would have a better guard than those had who were murdered in Spain and Holland.

That there was not much trade betwixt us and Sweden; nor was much of skill in those matters expected in an extraordinary ambassador, who agreed such things in the general; and afterwards particular points were brought to a determination by merchants or others, appointed to be commissioners for that purpose.

That Whitelocke was not inexperienced in foreign

affairs and matters of state, wherein he had been constantly employed here by the Parliament and Councils ; that the Swedes were very just in performing their agreements, and regarded their advantage not more than all other princes and states do ; and as they were a wise and subtle people, so they would find those no children with whom they were to deal, and that the Swedes were but men.

That no inconvenience could befall him by reason of his absence, but the same, if not more, would lie upon him if present,—except the failure of supplies, for which a full provision might be made beforehand ; and that his journey would be an honourable dismissal from any such inconveniences, if they should happen, and from the clamours which usually follow those employments in which he had been engaged.

September 9, 1653.

It was requisite for Whitelocke to go into the country about his affairs there : some discourse a little retarded him.

The
authority of
the then
Govern-
ment ques-
tioned.

It was objected, that the authority under whose commission he was to act in this great business, was not justifiable by the law of God or of this nation ; and he the more liable to punishment if a change should come.

To this was answered, by some ministers and other friends :—That, to matter of conscience, the business about which he went was for the good of the nation, and of the Protestant interest and religion ; and here being no other present visible power but those who sent him, he might with good conscience submit to

them, according to that of the Apostle, 1 Pet. ii. 13, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man;" and Rom. xiii. 1, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God;" that Christ yielded obedience to Cæsar, though a usurper, and Paul did the like.

As to the matter of law, it was said by those of his own profession (of whom none dissuaded him from this journey) and by other friends, that matters judicial, civil, or criminal, raising of money or forces, fighting, killing, etc., are of a nature much different from an embassy, and have more consideration as to legality or illegality of the powers ordering them; but the carrying of a message, and being an ambassador, may be undertaken on the behalf of any that will send it, and can defray the charge of it, so as the matter of it be not bad; and though the authority itself be not so grateful to the people, yet they submit to it, and universally obey it, and none can have protection but under it.

That the business was in itself good and grateful to the people, being to make a league of amity with a neighbour nation, to increase our trade, to strengthen ourselves against a foreign enemy (the Dutch), or to produce a peace with them; which things would be grateful and advantageous to all sorts of people and opinions in the nation, both now and in any future change.

As to matter of prudence, he was said to be so far engaged already with the Parliament party, that he could not go back; that if any change should be made with force, it would be safer to be from among

them than in the midst of them; if it were made upon terms, he, though absent, should be comprised in them.

Some of those who dissuaded him, yet when he would go, they freely adventured their lives with him. He got this day to his house in Bucks.

September 10, 1653.

Early in the morning he went abroad, to take the fresh air, and look into his grounds. With him was his tenant, William Cooke, an ancient, sober, discreet, and faithful servant to Whitelocke and his father above forty years. Part of the discourse between them was to this effect:—

White-
locke's old
servant ar-
gues in fa-
vour of the
appoint-
ment.

Cooke. Sir, I am glad to see you here before you go your great journey.

Whitelocke. I desired to see you once again before I be sent beyond sea.

Co. If you be sent over sea, I pray God bless you, and send you well home again.

Wh. There will be some danger of coming well home again.

Co. Why, Sir, many honest gentlemen before now have been sent over seas, and yet have returned well home again; and so, I hope, will you.

Wh. But this is a journey of more danger than ordinary.

Co. Sir, you have been in great dangers ere now, and God has kept you; and so, I hope, He will still.

Wh. I perceive you are not so much against my going as others are.

Co. I see no cause to be much against it, that's

the truth on 't; because I hope it may be for the good of you and yours, which I wish with all my heart, and ever did.

Wh. But do not you think it would be more for our good for me to stay at home?

Co. That you know best; but this I think, that if by going abroad you may gain a good advantage to your state, and by staying at home you will only spend of it, then it will be more for your good to go abroad, than to stay at home. But these things are above me.

Wh. You speak reason, William.

Co. I have no ends in what I speak but my love to you and yours; and I am sure I shall gain nothing by your going, nor lose nothing by your stay.

Wh. But my wife much fears the danger.

Co. Our lady and mistress will be satisfied in what you think best, and knows that God is the same God everywhere. I pray God keep you out of dangers if you go, or if you stay; there will be dangers everywhere.

Wh. But more apparent in this journey.

Co. I cannot tell that; for I have heard that our great man, I mean my Lord General, would have you to go; and if it be so, and yet you will stay at home, I doubt there may be as much danger for you to stay as to go.

Wh. It is true, the General would have me go; but I am not bound to obey him in all things.

Co. I am deceived if he will not be obeyed in what he hath a mind to.

Wh. I am not under his command; what can he do to me?

Co. What can he do? what can he not do? Do

not we all see he does what he list? We poor country-men are forced to obey him to our cost; and if he have a mind to punish us or you, it's an old proverb, that it is an easy thing to find a staff to beat a dog: and I would not have you to anger him, lest you bring danger and trouble too upon you and your family and state; that's the truth on't.

Wh. I fully agree with you in this; and I hope you will agree to me to be careful of my business in case I shall go, and to obey my wife's commands in my absence.

Co. I shall, by the help of God, be faithful to you; and carefully observe the commands of my lady and mistress.

September 11, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—After public duties, Whitelocke had much discourse about his voyage to Sweden; and more particularly upon the point, whether, by his undertaking of it, he might be instrumental to promote the Protestant interest, and to do service to good people both here and abroad; against which these objections were made.

Advantages
of the Em-
bassy to the
Protestant
cause.

That the people of those parts whither he was to go differ wholly from our persuasion in matters of religion; and though they are Protestants after the doctrine of Luther, yet they are not easily to be reconciled to those of other tenets, nor to be brought to join with them; and they have a sharp averseness to the opinions of Calvin, and look upon us as most favouring them, and more than those of their great author Luther.

On the other part it was said, that though the Swedish and German professors are generally Lutherans, yet they are Protestants, and agree with us in fundamentals, and against the Roman Church.

That the Queen of Sweden, but chiefly her father, and many of his great men yet living, have testified much affection to the Protestant cause, and are forward to promote it; that such a person as Whitelocke being with them upon the place, and discoursing with them about these matters, wherein he is able to give them so much satisfaction, and such as they have not had any opportunity so fully to receive before; and the example of Whitelocke and his company, to work upon them to a greater liking of our ways and profession, accompanied with such practice, would gain a better acceptation with them than any they have formerly given to those from whom at present they do differ; and will much persuade towards a firm amity and union with this Commonwealth.

That there is no other nation in Christendom from whom the Swedes can rationally expect such a friendship and union but only England, especially in matter of religion, and for strength against the Popish party, who love not them nor us.

The Protestant princes of Germany are not at this day so considerable, nor so free of differences and jealousies among themselves and against the crown of Sweden, nor so secure of nearer enemies, as to be much assistance to the Swedes, who will hardly be reconciled and united to the Danes, to join with them against the Papists. The French Protestants are overpowered at home, the Switzers are too far off, the Netherlanders too much in league with the Dane and

in love with trade ; so that the English only are the people with whom the Swedes may hope for a firm amity and union for the Protestant interest against the common enemy thereof, the Popish party ; and, upon this ground, that Whitelocke might receive encouragement to undertake this embassy, and, being so hopeful to promote the Protestant interest, that God will give a blessing to it.

September 12, 1653.

The pleasant, healthful country air must be left, and Whitelocke must hasten to attend the General ; and for that end he returns to London, where discourse again ariseth touching his Swedish journey, between him and his wife and friends, and the same reasons, objections, and answers as formerly were reiterated. At length she came to this conclusion and result with herself, which she declared to her husband, as her advice and judgement :—That she was not able to give her consent to his undertaking of the journey, because of that heavy affliction which would lie upon her by it ; neither durst she absolutely to deny it, lest any inconvenience might befall him or his family by his refusal of it, or any hindrance to their good ; but that she thought he must be guided in his resolutions as he should find the General, in his next conference with him. And so she left it to her husband, wherein their friends concurred ; and she, with many tears, desired him to consider his own safety in the first place, and to do what would tend most thereunto, and to the honour of God, and the interest of his family and country.

Whitelocke
returns to
London.

Her advice was without any bye-ends ; her concernment and good the same with his, the same interest to both ; her advice, though a woman, not to be rejected, but sound, faithful, and affectionate.

September 13, 1653.

Accepts the
Embassy.

Early in the morning Whitelocke had access to the General, and this discourse with him.

Whitelocke. I was to attend your Excellency, but missed of you.

Cromwell. I knew not of it ; you are always welcome to me. I hope you have considered the proposal I made to you, and are willing to serve the Commonwealth.

Wh. I have fully considered it ; and with humble thanks acknowledge the honour intended me, and am most willing to serve your Excellency and the Commonwealth ; but in this particular I humbly beg your excuse. I have endeavoured to satisfy my own judgment and my nearest relations, but can do neither, nor gain a consent ; and I should be very unworthy and ungrateful to go against it.

Crom. You know that no relations use to sway the balance in such matters as this. I know your lady very well, and that she is a good woman, and a religious woman ; indeed I think she is : and I durst undertake, in a matter of this nature, wherein the interest of God and of his people is concerned, as they are in your undertaking of this business,—I dare say my Lady will not oppose it.

Wh. Truly, Sir, I think there is no woman alive desires more the promoting of that interest ; but she

hopes it may be done as much, if not more, by some other person.

Crom. Really I know not in England so fit a person as you are for it.

Wh. Your Excellency cannot but know my want of breeding and experience in matters of this nature, and of language.

Crom. I know your education, travel, and language, and experience have fitted you for it; you know the affairs of Christendom as well as most men, and of England as well as any man, and can give as good an account of them. I think no man can serve his country more than you may herein; indeed I think so, and therefore I make it my particular suit and earnest request to you to undertake it: and I hope you will show a little regard to me in it, and I assure you that you shall have no cause to repent it.

Wh. My Lord, I am very ready to testify my duty to your Excellency. I acknowledge your many favours to me, and myself an officer under your command, and to owe you obedience. But your Excellency will not expect it from me in that wherein I am not capable to serve you; and therefore I make it my most humble suit to be excused from this service.

Crom. For your abilities I am satisfied; I know no man so fit for it as yourself; and if you should decline it (as I hope you will not), the Commonwealth would suffer extremely by it, your own profession perhaps might suffer likewise, and the Protestant interest would suffer by it. Indeed you cannot be excused; the hearts of all the good people in this nation are set upon it, to have you undertake this service; and if you should waive it, being thus, and at such a time

when your going may be the most likely means to settle our business with the Dutch and Danes, and matter of trade (and none, I say again, can do it better than you), the Commonwealth would be at an extreme prejudice by your refusal. But I hope you will hearken to my request, and let me prevail with you to undertake it: neither you nor yours, I hope, shall ever have any cause to wish you had not done it.

W^h. My Lord, when a man is out of sight, he is out of mind. Though your Excellency be just and honourable, yet, your greater affairs calling you off, those to whom matters of correspondence and supplies must be referred, will perhaps forget one who is afar off, and not be so sensible of extremities in a foreign country as those who suffer under them.

Crom. I will engage to take particular care of those matters myself, and that you shall neither want supplies nor anything that is fit for you: you shall be set out with as much honour as ever any ambassador was from England. I shall hold myself particularly obliged to you if you will undertake it; and will stick as close to you as your skin is to your flesh. You shall want nothing either for your honour and equipage, or for power and trust to be reposed in you, or for correspondence and supplies when you are abroad; I promise you, my Lord, you shall not; I will make it my business to see it done. The Parliament and Council, as well as myself, will take it very well, and thankfully, from you, to accept of this employment; and all people, especially the good people of the nation, will be much satisfied with it: and therefore, my Lord, I make it again my earnest request to you, to accept this honourable employment.

This extraordinary earnestness of Cromwell, so that he would not be satisfied unless Whitelocke did accept the employment, nor by any means be prevailed with to excuse him ; and Whitelocke seeing plainly that he could not decline it, without making Cromwell, the Parliament, and Council highly distasted against him, and to be his covert, if not open enemies, for neglecting and slighting them, who had opportunity, and power, and will, to be even with him, he came to this resolution (which, upon prayer to God and advice of his friends, he had formerly taken), that if he should find it with Cromwell as he did, then to consent rather to go the journey in great danger than to stay at home in greater, and to hope to do some service for the Protestant people and interest. Therefore, after some pause, Whitelocke spake again to Cromwell thus :—

Wh. I see your Excellency is inexorable for my excuse, and much set upon it, with more than ordinary earnestness, for me to undertake this service ; for which, though I judge myself insufficient, yet your judgement and the Council's is, that I am capable to do some service to the Commonwealth, and to the Protestant interest herein, and to the honour of God, which is above all other motives : and hoping that it may be so, and to testify my regard and duty to your Excellency, who have honoured me with your personal request for it, and the Council having unanimously pitched upon me, and to manifest that I am not self-willed, and how much I value your Excellency's commands, and can submit my own to better judgements, I am resolved to lay aside further consideration of wife, children, friends, fortune, and all ob-

jections and fear of dangers, and to conform myself to your Excellency's desires, and to the votes of the Council, by accepting this difficult and hazardous employment; and do rest confident of your Excellency's care and favour towards me, who undertake it by your command; and hope that such allowances and supplies will be afforded me, and such memory had of me in my absence, as shall be agreeable to the honour of the nation, and of yourself, and the business, as also of your servant.

Crom. My Lord, I do most heartily thank you for accepting the employment, whereby you have testified a very great respect and favour to me, and affection to the Commonwealth, which will be very well taken by them; and I assure you, that it is so grateful to me, who upon my particular request have prevailed with you, that I shall never forget this favour, but endeavour to requite it to you and yours; really, my Lord, I shall: and I will acquaint the Council with it, that we may desire further conference with you.

He went away well pleased; and Whitelocke's friends thought what he had done to be rational; but tender affection was full of passion and weeping.

September 14, 1653.

Parliament
approves
the appoint-
ment.

The consent of Whitelocke to accept this employment was reported from the Council to the Parliament, with the Council's opinion, that Whitelocke was a fit person to be sent ambassador extraordinary to the Queen of Sweden; which they submitted to the Parliament's consideration.

In the debate thereof in the House, one of the

members (who had an opinion of himself to be more godly than others), did object, that they knew not whether Whitelocke were a godly man or not ; and though he might be otherwise qualified, yet, if he were not a godly man, it was not fit to send him ambassador.

Mr. Taylor, another member, who was known not to be inferior in godliness to the objector, answered (with other friends) in Whitelocke's behalf : that godliness was now in fashion, and taken up in form and words for advantage' sake, more than in substance for the truth's sake ; that it was difficult to judge of the trees of godliness or ungodliness otherwise than by the fruit ; and that those who knew Whitelocke, and his conversation, were satisfied that he lived in practice, as well as in a profession of godliness ; and that it was more becoming a godly man to look into his own heart, and to censure himself, than to take upon him the attribute of God alone, to know the heart of another, and to judge him, especially if a stranger, of whom godly men were wont to judge charitably.

After some little debate, it was voted, *nemine contradicente*, "that the House doth agree with the report, that the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke be sent ambassador extraordinary to the Queen of Sweden, from this Commonwealth ; and that the Council take care for the retinue of all ambassadors to be approved by them ; and that they prepare all things in order to the despatch of the said Lord Ambassador, and a Commission and Instructions for him, to be reported to the House."

In the afternoon the Council made a committee, to consider of preparations for the embassy, and what

money and shipping is requisite for it ; and to confer with Whitelocke about these things ; and it was referred to the Committee for Foreign Affairs to prepare a Commission and Instructions for him.

September 15, 1653.

A Committee of Council considers his outfit.

The Committee of the Council for the embassy were not full. Whitelocke inquiring about the vote of the House, touching the retinue of ambassadors (which he had no cause to like), was informed that the occasion thereof was from disorders in the young gentleman, and his company, who lately carried letters from the Parliament to the Queen of Sweden ; and that there was much excess in drinking of healths in his company, which occasioned this vote of the Parliament about the retinue of all ambassadors ; and that it was general, and no reflection thereby, or in the debate, upon Whitelocke in particular.

September 16, 1653.

The Committee of the Council met in the afternoon, and took an account of the Lord Viscount Lisle, that he had received £3000 towards his charges for the embassy, whereof he had laid out £2000 in preparations, and there remained £1000 in his hands. The Committee did nothing further, though the business and season of the year required somewhat more expedition.

September 17, 1653.

Whitelocke and his servants.

The Committee for the Swedish business met again, and ordered letters to be sent to Whitelocke, to meet them.

Whitelocke's usage was to be loving and kind to his servants, not awfully magisterial and harsh to them; to treat them with a fitting familiarity, rather than too great a distance, and to take care that they should want nothing fit for them. This caused his servants to return love again to their master, and the service of love is the best service: to testify this love, most of his menial servants offered willingly, and some of them made suit, to wait on him in this journey, though so long and dangerous.

September 18, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke, after public duties, was troubled with importunities of divers persons; some for gentlemen to be admitted into his company, others to be his servants in this journey: but he was not forward to receive any into his number, unless he knew them personally himself, or was well informed of the qualities, civility, and religious inclination of them; lest he might bring a prejudice by ill example upon his children, or his other servants, and a scandal upon the profession of religion.

September 19, 1653.

A messenger of the Council brought to Whitelocke this letter from the Committee:—

*“To the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioner
Whitelocke, at his house at Chelsea.*

“MY LORD,

“The Council having commanded myself, with Sir Gilbert Pickering and Mr. Strickland, to wait upon your

White-
locke's re-
tinue.

Whitelocke
summoned
to attend
the Com-
mittee of
Council.

Lordship, to confer with your Lordship about some things concerning your Lordship's embassy, we desire to know, whether your Lordship will be at leisure tomorrow at eight o'clock, which, if your Lordship approve of, we shall be at the time aforesaid at your Lordship's house ; or, if that be not convenient, that your Lordship will let us know what other time will most suit with your Lordship's occasions, that we may wait on you. I am,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship's humble servant,

“ HEN. LAWRENCE.

“ *Whitehall, Sept. 19.*”

To this letter Whitelocke returned this answer :—

“ *To the Honourable Henry Lawrence, Esq., a Member of Parliament, and of the Council of State. These.*

“ SIR,

“ I acknowledge, with humble thanks, the favour from yourself and the rest of the honourable gentlemen of the Committee, by your letters this day brought unto me. Sir, I shall be at leisure to attend when you command ; and knowing your great occasions, and my own duty, I desire you would be pleased to give me leave to wait upon you tomorrow morning at your time, at Whitehall ; when I shall attend the pleasure of the Committee, and hope to find you near to the Council-chamber.

“ Your most humble servant,

“ B. WHITELOCKE.

“ *Chelsea, Sept. 19, 1653.*”

This letter raised new passions ; and it was urged against Whitelocke, that he ought not to leave his country and relations to go this journey ; but the matter was determined, and himself engaged and freely called to this service.

September 20, 1653.

At eight o'clock this morning, Whitelocke was at the Committee ; but it was too early for the members : only the Lord Viscount Lisle came before the rest ; and with him Whitelocke had free discourse, touching the grounds of his declining that service, to which he protested solemnly and earnestly, that he had no other reason but his want of health to undergo a winter journey into that country, the cold whereof he was not by his constitution able to endure ; and this was the cause of his desire to be excused from that employment at this time ; that he did not scruple the authority, nor thought the business difficult, but very honourable, and likely to have good success ; and he expressed the same things touching this matter which his brother Colonel Sydney had said before to Whitelocke.

The Committee being full, Whitelocke sat with them covered ; and they discoursed together about an hour, touching his embassy, particularly of the allowance for his charges, which they said should be £1000 a month, besides coaches and liveries already provided ; and this the same allowance that the Lord Lisle should have had.

Whitelocke showed the difference of charge in travel and residence in winter, more than if he had gone in summer, with his reasons why this allowance would be too small ; and these matters he had fully inquired into and considered (as behoved him) upon this occasion ; but the gentlemen of the Committee, not so much concerned herein as Whitelocke, had not much looked into this, or any other business of this

nature, nor did say much to it ; but how they might save some of their money, although never so necessary to be expended. They concluded with a desire, that Whitelocke would put down his demands in writing, with which they would acquaint the Council, and return their answer.

The letter of Whitelocke to the Council, containing his proposals, was delivered to the President, and was as followeth :—

“ To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State. These.

White-
locke's
letter on
his outfit.

“ MY LORD,

“ Upon consideration and advice concerning the journey into Sweden, respect being had unto the manner of the late embassy into the Low Countries, and of the present expectation of the Queen of Sweden and her court, of the access of cavaliers thither, and chiefly of the honour of this State, I do humbly apprehend that it will be requisite, for the honour of the Parliament and security of their servant, that I carry with me near one hundred persons in my company and retinue.

“ The expenses of the journey will be much increased by the season of the year, which will cause us to travel by land almost four hundred miles more than if we had gone in summer, and consequently to provide and carry with us more people and horses.

“ The expenses of the land journey will be very great, and all provisions, both for men and horses, in the way and at Stockholm, at a far dearer rate in the winter time, when they have no markets, than they would have been in the summer, when they might have been had at the best rates ; besides the charge of the fuel, which will not be small in that country.

“ I may have (if you please) the coaches and liveries provided ; besides which, I must provide clothes for my-

self, advance moneys and salaries for many that are to go with me, and many necessary provisions for my table, coach-horses, saddle-horses, with divers other particulars, which I trouble not your Lordship to recite.

“Upon consideration of all these things, I do humbly apprehend, that it may appear reasonable, to allow me £1500 per mensem, for all my preparations and expenses. If this should be thought too high an allowance, I then humbly propound £1000 advance for my preparations, beside coach and liveries, and £1200 per mensem for all my charges; being resolved, according to the pleasure of the Council, to conform myself and my expenses; and shall be ready to give a full account thereof at my return, if the Council shall think fit to order it.

“I do humbly propound further, to have from the State, table-linen, hangings, household stuff, and bedding, in such proportion as they shall think fit, and as hath been allowed to others their ambassadors and servants, to be received and returned by inventory.

“I humbly desire the Council’s letter to Mr. Ingelo, to accompany me as chaplain; and if they shall think fit to write to Mr. Duery to the same purpose, I shall submit to it.

“I humbly desire the Council’s order to the Judges of the Admiralty, to give despatches to a Swedish ship, now questioned in that court; in which ship, if she be released, I propose to send my baggage, to go with me to Gottenburg; and from thence (if it may be) by sea to Stockholm.

“I humbly desire such order for my transportation and convoy by sea as the Council shall think fit; and for all accommodations in my sea-voyage to Gothenburg.

“My Lord, I beg your pardon of this tediousness from

“Your Lordship’s humble servant,

“B. WHITELOCKE.

“*Chelsea, September 20, 1653.*”

The President, upon receipt of this letter, told the messenger he would communicate it to the Council’s

committee, from whom, in a short time, Whitelocke should receive an answer.

September 21, 1653.

Selects
chaplain.

A principal care of Whitelocke, as to those of his retinue, was to get able and fit chaplains, such as were of a pious life and conversation, and of good abilities and learning, for example and instruction of his company; and he desired to have them of a respectful, civil, and courteous behaviour, to win upon his people, and to credit him among strangers; and that they might be qualified with languages, especially Latin, as most useful abroad, and most expected from their profession.

Being informed of Mr. Ingelo to be a fit person for one of his chaplains, and that had he engaged to attend the Lord Viscount Lisle, if he had gone, Whitelocke wrote to him to this purpose:—

“For my worthy friend, Mr. Nathaniel Ingelo, Fellow of Eton College. These.

“SIR,

“Being commanded by the Parliament to go ambassador into Sweden, I do make it my earnest suit to you, that you would be pleased to accompany me in that journey, according to your former resolutions to go with my Lord Viscount Lisle in the same service. The business itself is honourable, and of that consequence to this nation’s good, that I hope there will be no need of any other motive to persuade you to adhere to your former intentions therein; to which I shall only add this, that no person in my company is more desired, nor shall be used with greater care and respect, than yourself, by

“Your affectionate friend to serve you,

“B. WHITELOCKE.

“Chelsea, September 21, 1653.”

This letter Whitelocke took order to be sent by a fit messenger to Mr. Ingelo, and to have some friends of best esteem with him, to discourse with him about it, and to be furnished with reasons to persuade him to go this journey with Whitelocke, who desired his company.

September 22, 1653.

According to the appointment of the Committee, Whitelocke was at Whitehall, where Mr. Lawrence told him, that the report of his proposals was not yet made to the Council; divers of them being absent at the committee for tithes, which was then in hot pursuit, some for the taking of them away, and others for the continuance of them. The President appointed the next morning to meet at the committee, but afterwards sent a civil letter to Whitelocke to excuse it; some of the Council still attending the business of tithes.

September 23, 1653.

By advice of Sir Oliver Fleming, Master of the Ceremonies, that it was according to the custom of the ambassadors, Whitelocke sent two of his servants, who spake High Dutch, to Mr. Lagerfeldt, an agent, now residing here, from the Queen of Sweden, and to Mr. Bonele, then commissioner here for trade, with this message: "That the Parliament having appointed him to go ambassador to her Most Serene Majesty the Queen of Sweden, he thought fit, in respect to her Majesty, and to them her public ministers now residing in England, to give them notice hereof."

Notice of
his appoint-
ment sent
to the Swe-
dish Resi-
dent in
London.

Both the gentlemen desired their thanks might be

returned to the Ambassador, for his civility and respect to the Queen their mistress, and to themselves; whereof they would give a speedy account to her Majesty. Whitelocke sent his compliments on this day, being the post-day, to give them the opportunity of writing it into Sweden; which they did this day.

September 24, 1653.

The Committee of Council fix his outfit and allowances.

Upon a report from their committee, the Council made two orders, both to the same effect; whether through incuriousness of the Council or their clerks, Whitelocke did not inquire. Both were sent to him: the latter order was this:—

“Saturday, 24th September, 1653.

“AT THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT WHITEHALL. *Ordered,* That the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke shall have the same allowance for his embassy into Sweden as the Lord Viscount Lisle was to have had; that is to say, £6000 for the first six months, whereof £3000 is to be paid in present money to such persons as his Lordship shall appoint to receive the same; and £3000 more by bills of exchange; the provisions of coach, harness, and liveries being cast in over and above the forementioned allowance of £6000, and valued at £1000, in consideration of his Lordship's undertaking the journey in the winter season. And the Council doth further declare, that if there shall be occasion for his Lordship's stay in Sweden longer than six months, that there shall be duly allowed and paid to his Lordship the sum of £600 per mensem, which is the same allowance that was to have been made to the Lord Viscount Lisle, if he had staid in Sweden longer than six months.

“That such plate, table-linen, hangings, household stuff, and bedding, as are in the State's wardrobe, and which are fit for the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke's use in his em-

bassy into Sweden, be furnished unto his Lordship by the wardrobe-keeper, in such proportion as was to have been furnished to the Lord Lisle; and that such plate, table-linen, and other goods, be delivered to such persons as shall be appointed by his Lordship to receive the same.

“That the Judges of the Admiralty be sent unto, to certify to the Council what proceedings have been in the business of the ship which pretends to belong to Sweden, and to certify to the Council the whole state thereof.

“That a letter be written to Mr. Ingelo, to go along with the Lord Ambassador, as chaplain, in his embassy into Sweden.

“That Mr. John Duery be approved of by the Council, to go as one of the chaplains to the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke in his embassy into Sweden, if his Lordship shall likewise approve of him.

“EX^r JO. THURLOE, Sec^r.”

Both Whitelocke and his friends had too much cause to dislike the narrowness and illiberality of the allowance voted by the Council for him, which was judged too low and mean to defray his necessary and great expenses; but the seeming thrift for the Commonwealth did now overweigh, with some of the Council, the honour of the nation and safety of their servant.

This straitness of the Council raised many serious thoughts in Whitelocke, how he might extricate himself from the present difficulties under which he lay; how he might quit the service imposed on him, and not fall into greater danger and perplexities than the employment would bring upon him. He considered the improbability of advantaging his own fortunes, by serving under such narrow-hearted masters, and the desperate peril of failing of sufficient supplies in a

foreign country. On the other side, he saw the bitterness of the spirit of many of those in power, who, if they were disappointed of their purposes, and should apprehend a neglect of them and their authority, would not stick furiously and haughtily to strain it, to the ruin of him whom they judged a contemner of it.

He therefore, as far as he thought in discretion he could, made some overtures and trials how to get discharged of the employment; but the hearts of the present governors were so set upon it to have him go, that they would not hear of anything from himself or his friends, tending to the excuse of him from going.

Finding it thus, he contented himself in his assurance of God's love and protection, and in hopes to have an opportunity to serve him, and his country, and the interest of his people.

September 25, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke was with his wife and family at the parish church, and had more than ordinary ceremony from his brother in office, whose meaning therein he understood.

After public exercises of devotion, he retired himself from the continual discourses of his Swedish business, unto his private meditations upon the Holy Scriptures.

September 26, 1653.

In a letter to Whitelocke from the Council was enclosed the same order which they sent to him the other day. Such was the forgetfulness of their affairs!

Mr. Bonele, an English merchant, who went to the Queen of Sweden, had so far gained her favour, that she honoured him with the employment of her public minister, her commissioner for trade to England. He came to Whitelocke this day, attended with two gentlemen and two lacqueys in liveries, and demeaned himself in the part of a public minister. He discoursed of Whitelocke's journey, and that his best way would be by Gothenburg; and he magnified the civility and courtesy of the Queen, his mistress, to all gentlemen and strangers that came into her country, especially to public ministers; and, as it was due, of her great respects to those who were extraordinary ambassadors, which character, he said, he heard was deservedly intended for Whitelocke. He was full of the business of trade between the two nations, and of commerce in general, and the honour of merchants.

A Swedish Commissioner for Trade calls on Whitelocke.

September 27, 1653.

Whitelocke went to the Council and had some discourse with them touching the smallness of the allowance ordered for him, and that it might be increased. He gave his reasons freely to them, but they gravely acquainted him, that the judgement of the Council held that allowance to be competent; and they having resolved it, that it was not in the Committee's power to alter it; but they promised to report to the Council his desires, and the reasons he had offered to them.

Whitelocke complains of the smallness of his allowance.

Whitelocke also acquainted the Committee, that Mr. Duery, whom the Council had recommended to be one of his chaplains, had, by letters, excused himself

for want of health ; but Mr. Ingelo had consented to go with him. They seemed pleased therewith, but Whitelocke was not so, at their backwardness to increase his allowance ; and so they parted.

Means employed to alarm Whitelocke.

Captain Bishop, Secretary to the Close Committee, gave Whitelocke a paper of intelligence which he had received from some of the King's party, his pensioners, which was thus :—

“ September 17th, 1653.

“ At a meeting of some of the King's chief agents, part of their discourse was this. One said : ‘ What will be your advantage when you have taken off Cromwell and Lambert, seeing the present men in power are but a company of giddy-headed men ? Some of the old men, as Bradshawe, St. John, Whitelocke, Rolles, Vane, would take the opportunity to bring themselves in power again ; and if one of those get it into their hands, we shall never get it out again, they being the men that turned the wheel of the nation formerly ; and what Cromwell did, was by force to take it out of their hands, lest he should be turned out himself.’

“ ‘ For Bradshawe,’ said one, ‘ I hear he is going for Wiltshire. I warrant you we shall take a course with him : you need not fear his return. He is left to himself now, and out of his army guard ; he will not be walking on his battlements at Whitehall.

“ ‘ For Whitelocke,’ said another, ‘ it was the wisest act that ever those men did, to send him to Sweden ; for he hath a long journey to go, and before he comes to his journey's end, he may meet with divers good friends.’ ”

They were all of them of the opinion, that those men must be taken off, as well as Cromwell, for the reasons aforesaid ; and that it was so concluded ; without which, they said, their ends could not be effected.

From other hands Whitelocke heard that the King,

being offered by some their service to murder Whitelocke, he forbade them to do so unworthy and sinful an act, to which, he said, he would give no countenance, nor be party to it by the least connivance.

The intelligence from Bishop did not so much affect or disturb Whitelocke, as to kindle any apprehensions in him of danger; but he looked upon it only as tavern-talk of some giddy people.

Mr. Lagerfeldt sent his secretary to Whitelocke, to know what time he would be within, that Lagerfeldt might come to visit him. Whitelocke answered, that he had some extraordinary occasions for a few days, but if Lagerfeldt pleased to come to him on Thursday next, in the afternoon, he would be then at home to receive the honour of his visit; at which the secretary went away, not seeming pleased that the receiving of his lord's visit should be so long deferred.

September 28, 1653.

This order of the Council was brought to Whitelocke by one of their messengers:—

Appoint-
ment of a
chaplain
with salary.

“ Wednesday, 28th September, 1653.

“ AT THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT WHITEHALL. Ordered, That it be signified to the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke, that if his Lordship shall think fit to nominate a fit person to go with him as another chaplain in his embassy into Sweden, the Council will thereupon be ready to advance £100 unto him, as hath been done to those made choice of by the Lord Lisle.

“ EX^r JO. THURLOE, Sec^r. ”

Upon this vote, more application was made than formerly for this employment.

September 29, 1653.

Whitelocke
applies to
Cromwell
to increase
his allow-
ances.

Mr. Lagerfeldt sent his servant to Whitelocke, to excuse his not coming to him this day, as was appointed; which some supposed he did in point of state, because he was not admitted to his visit so soon as he expected; therefore he would not come so soon as was by Whitelocke appointed. Whitelocke went to the General, and informed him of the shortness of the allowance voted by the Council for his expenses in his embassy, not sufficient to defray the charges thereof in such a manner as would be for the honour of the Commonwealth and the security of their servant; whereof Cromwell seemed very sensible, and promised to move the Council for an increase of it.

September 30, 1653.

The Swe-
dish Minis-
ter calls on
Whitelocke
in state.

A messenger of the Council brought to Whitelocke a copy of the instructions which had been prepared for the Lord Lisle, when he was to have gone ambassador to Sweden; and Whitelocke was desired to peruse them, and give his opinion what he thought fit to be altered or added to them. He gave the messenger a note under his hand for the receipt of them.

Lagerfeldt, in the afternoon, visited Whitelocke. He was tall, of an ingenuous countenance, and civil behaviour; his carriage was in the port of a public minister, rather above than below his character.

He was attended with six gentlemen, well habited, and four lacqueys in liveries, decent, but not rich or gaudy. Whitelocke met him at the door of his house, where, after salutations, Lagerfeldt spake, in good Latin, to this effect:—

Lag. Most excellent Lord Ambassador, I being acquainted from your Excellency, that the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have designed you to go ambassador to her Most Serene Majesty the Queen of Sweden, my most gracious mistress, I have desired the permission of this visit, to give your Excellency thanks for your respects therein; and in the name of her Majesty, whose public minister I have the honour to be to this Commonwealth, I do congratulate the great and deserved honour conferred on you by the Parliament.

Whitelocke answered him, in Latin, to this effect:—

Wl. My Lord, you are pleased to confer upon me a great addition of honour by the favour of this visit, and by testifying the respects of her Majesty, your gracious mistress, to me her humble servant; and that by so noble a person as your Lordship, her Majesty's public minister to this Commonwealth. I entreat this further favour from you, that your Lordship will be pleased to enter into this house, and to accept the command of it.

They went in together; the precedence given by Whitelocke to Lagerfeldt, because he was a stranger, and according to the custom of his and other foreign countries.

Whitelocke appointed some of his servants, who spake Latin and High Dutch, to entertain Lagerfeldt's gentlemen with discourse and wine. Lagerfeldt and he sat together in the withdrawing-room, and sometimes walked in the garden. They had many compliments passed between them; Lagerfeldt commending the choice of Whitelocke to be ambassador to his mistress, and Whitelocke's abilities for it, etc.;

Whitelocke modestly excusing his want of them, and advancing the honour and greatness of the Queen and nation of Sweden, and professing his respects and affection to them.

Lagerfeldt highly extolled the generosity and civility of the Queen to strangers, especially to public ministers, and said it would be as high to Whitelocke as to any; and that there was no doubt but that he would have good success in his business, to which he knew her Majesty, his mistress, was very well inclined.

Whitelocke asked his advice, which way would be best for him to take his journey; and Lagerfeldt was positive that the best way for him would be by Gothenburg: that if he should go that way by land, he must travel through the Low Countries and Denmark, both which were enemies to England; and to go by sea to Stockholm, would be dangerous at this time of the year; and if frost should take them, it would be impassable.

Whitelocke inquired of him touching the land journey from Gothenburg to the Court, and what accommodations were to be had by the way in that country. Lagerfeldt said that the journey by land would be long, near four hundred miles English, but the way was good; and that the Queen would give command that no accommodations or provisions for him should be wanting, which the country would afford; and they were very good, though not such as travellers used to meet with in England.

They discoursed of the murder of Ascham and Dorislaus, in Spain and in the Low Countries, being public ministers sent abroad by the Parliament; to which Lagerfeldt said that there was not the least

danger of any such thing to be attempted in Sweden ; that the Queen and her subordinate officers were extraordinary careful to prevent any such barbarous act ; and that neither her subjects nor any strangers durst commit, or presume to attempt, any such thing in her kingdom ; and if they should, the law was extremely severe in those cases. But he said that never any such fact had been perpetrated among them ; and Whitelocke, as to his life and freedom from assassination, might be as secure there as in any country in the world, and as in his own country.

Lagerfeldt spake much, how necessary it was for the Commonwealth of England to answer the respects of the Queen, his mistress, who had sent hither several public ministers, and had received yet none from hence, which she expected as a civility due to her ; and that the treaty between the two nations could not be so well concluded without an ambassador from England, to be there upon the place.

Much other discourse they had about the coldness of the country, which Lagerfeldt said might very well be endured, with warm clothing and good fuel, whereof they had plenty. Much other discourse passed between them, about the treaty and divers other particulars ; till, with long talking and walking, Whitelocke became very weary ; and after many compliments and ceremonies, Whitelocke brought him to his coach ; and so they parted.

[Whitelocke observes, in a MS. note on the state of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at the time of the embassy, which is to be found in one of his MS. volumes in the British Museum :—

“ At the time of this embassy, the Commonwealth had peace at home, but was, upon a small occasion, engaged in a fierce naval war

with their neighbours, the high and mighty lords and seamen of the United Provinces. Between both States there had been several bloody encounters, in which God had given the English great success ; and at sea they prevailed over their potent sea adversaries.

“ They were also at difference with the King of Denmark, who had injured them, and showed himself their enemy. They had no friendship ; but casual encounters at sea, and actions of enmity between us, and no redress from them.

“ The King of Spain was in alliance with the Commonwealth, had acknowledged their republic early and respectfully ; which was not to his disadvantage, nor desires by him to be altered.

“ The Crown of Sweden had testified much respect to this State, had not assisted any of our enemies against us, had sent several public ministers hither, and one was at this time residing here ; but had received no return from hence, save only by a gentleman, an envoy, with letters to the Queen of compliment and ceremony, Mr. —, brother to the Lord Commissioner —, who was entertained by her Majesty and her Court with more than ordinary respect and favour.

“ These and other motives induced Cromwell and his Council to judge it requisite to nominate one to be sent ambassador extraordinary to the Queen of Sweden, to make an alliance with that Crown. And Whitelocke was pitched upon by them as a person fit for that trust and employment, and was by unanimous assent of the Council named for it.”]

OCTOBER.

October 1, 1653.

THE Council of State was moved by Cromwell, according to his promise to Whitelocke, for an addition to the allowance formerly voted by them for Whitelocke's expenses in the embassy; and upon Cromwell's motion, the Council voted £500 more, to be added to their former vote for Whitelocke's allowance; who was troubled also at this small addition, knowing that Cromwell, if he had so pleased, might as well have procured £500 per mensem, as one £500 only, to have been added: for what Cromwell and his private junto thought fit to be done, was generally confirmed without objection; so great a power had he and his few private counsellors, which caused murmuring in many at it.

White-
locke's
allowance
scantily
increased.

October 2, 1653.

Many suitors were importunate with Whitelocke to go with him into Sweden, whom he denied, because of the shortness of his allowance. He was at the public worship with his wife and family this Lord's Day, and afterwards at his private retirement and meditations.

The Lord's
Day.

October 3, 1653.

A physician
appointed
to the
Embassy.

Doctor Winston, a true, noble, and bountiful friend to Whitelocke and his family, among other good offices was very solicitous to procure a good physician to go with Whitelocke in his journey, which he advised as necessary in that country ; and because he feared sickness and mishaps might be in so large a family, in so great a journey, change of diet and climate ; and protested that he would have gone himself with Whitelocke, but that he was above eighty years of age ; and he encouraged Whitelocke, from the first, to undertake it.

He pitched upon Doctor Whistler, whom he recommended to Whitelocke to go with him ; himself provided medicaments both for physick and surgery, wherein Doctor Whistler was also experienced, being the physician that took care of the wounded seamen, who were many, in the war with the Dutch ; and Doctor Whistler had gained much reputation in several great cures on many of them. This employment caused him, in discretion, to desire, that before he left it he might have the State's leave and order for it ; which Whitelocke procured from the Council by this order :—

“ Monday, October 3rd, 1653.

“ AT THE COUNCIL OF STATE AT WHITEHALL. Ordered,
That Doctor Whistler be sent unto, and desired to accompany the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke, as his physician, in his embassy into Sweden.

“ EX^r JO. THURLOE, Sec^r.”

Upon this order he freely consented, and prepared to go with Whitelocke in his voyage.

October 4, 1653.

The Council having formerly ordered £3000 to be paid to Whitelocke in part of his allowance, they now ordered Mr. Frost, secretary assistant to the Council, to pay the same, which he did to one of Whitelocke's servants; and Whitelocke gave an acquittance to Mr. Frost for that £3000 on the back of the Council's order.

Outfit paid
by the
Council.

October 5, 1653.

Whitelocke removed himself and wife, and some of his children, to his kind friend and brother-in-law's house, Mr. Samuel Wilson, whose wife and Whitelocke's wife were sisters; that, being there in London, he might be the nearer to his business, and see his wife and part of his family settled with such friends as might be a comfort to her in her husband's absence.

Whitelocke
removes to
London.

October 6, 1653.

A petition was presented by Whitelocke to the Council, desiring them to move the Parliament, that the salary now behind and due to him as a Commissioner of the Great Seal, being £1050, might be ordered by the House to be paid unto him; and the Council undertook it. Whitelocke held it the fitter to be pressed at this time before his going; lest, if he did not receive it upon this occasion, he should never get it.

Applies for
arrears of
salary, as
Commis-
sioner of
Great Seal.

Captain Bishop sent him a long letter of intelligence, touching the Swedish affairs, which he gathered to come from Sir John Cokeram, and returned thanks

for it. Captain Limrey sent him a letter that he had procured a pilot for his voyage; whom Whitelocke trusted, being his friend, a man of much honesty and experience in sea matters.

October 7, 1653.

Appoints a
private
committee
to manage
prepara-
tions for his
Embassy.

Monsieur de la Marche, a Guernsey man, was entertained by Whitelocke to be his other chaplain. As to other ordinary employments and service under him in his voyage, there being many earnest suitors, and divers particulars of several natures to be looked after in order to his journey, which Whitelocke had neither leisure nor liking to despatch in his own person, he, by writing under his hand, desired some of his friends well known at Court, and some of his own officers and gentlemen, and his son, or any three of them, to be as a committee for him and his affairs relating to his embassy, to peruse the list of his retinue, to examine the fitness of persons recommended to Whitelocke's service, to agree for wages, advance money, etc., to take order for provisions and preparations for the voyage; and to this committee Whitelocke referred all matters generally relating to this business, and such as were most troublesome and less convenient for his own personal despatch, and whereby envy and distaste were the more avoided; many of the committee being better able to undergo them than himself singly. This committee made applications to the Council and to committees of Parliament, and took very much care and pains in this business, approving their affection and friendship unto Whitelocke.

October 8, 1653.

Having leisure, Whitelocke retired himself to discourse and read French and Latin, endeavouring to renew and improve his knowledge in those languages, whereof he was likely to have so much use in his employment. Applies himself to the French and Latin tongues.

Divers members of Parliament, friends to Whitelocke, to do him a favour, sent him word that they would come and dine with him; but, as is usual, they caused preparation and attendance for them, and then failed to come, alleging the House long sitting for their apology.

Monsieur D'Espagne, minister of the French Church, recommended to Whitelocke some notes and advice from a rare physician in London, his countryman, to be observed by Whitelocke in his journey, and sent them with magnificent titles to him.

October 9, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke went to the French Church, which was near unto his lodging, and there he heard very good preaching, and received civility from the members and officers of their congregation, who were pleased to take notice of him; and by hearing their ministers, who spake the best language, Whitelocke had the advantage the better to improve his own knowledge in the French tongue. Attends the French Church.

October 10, 1653.

Lagerfeldt sent his secretary to Whitelocke, to inform him that divers Swedish ships were here detained. Swedish prizes detained.

tained as prizes against right, and he desired Whitelocke's assistance to get them discharged; whereby, he said, Whitelocke would oblige that Crown and nation, and give them further cause of desiring and embracing an alliance with this Commonwealth: hereof he sent a memoir in writing to Whitelocke, who promised to use his best endeavours in this or any other occasion, to testify his respects to that Crown and nation.

He took all times of leisure to meditate and study the business and duty of ambassadors, which weighty charge he had undertaken; and from that text, Genesis xxiv., and the expositions of it, he found much light on this argument.*

October 11, 1653.

Whitelocke endeavoured to get a release of the Swedish ships detained as prize, and gave a paper to the Council for that purpose; but nothing effectual was done by them.

The Parliament ordered the payment of £1050 to Whitelocke, being the arrears of his salary as Commissioner of the Seal.

He got together divers papers and books relating to his business, as 'Constitutio Regni Sueciæ,' Fowler's book of the Treaty between Sweden and Poland, 'Respub. Sueciæ, Daniæ, Poloniæ, the Succession of their Kings,' 'Exigesis Sueciæ,' and others.

* [The 24th chapter of Genesis relates the successful mission of Abraham's servant to seek a wife for his son Isaac, of his own kindred and his father's house. "The Lord, before whom I walk, will send his angel with thee and prosper thy way." (v. 40).]

His noble friend, Sir Thomas Cotton, out of his rare treasury of antiquities, monuments, and manuscripts, lent him several volumes in manuscript of treaties between England and Sweden, and between England and Denmark, and between Sweden and Denmark and Poland, and divers others manuscripts concerning matters of trade, more particularly in the northern parts, all which were carefully made use of by Whitelocke in the perusal of them : and he had them with him in his being abroad, and he thankfully returned them to the owner at his coming again to his own country.

October 12, 1653.

By invitation, Whitelocke met at Mr. Croon's, at Camden House, with General Blake, General Monk, and divers other land and sea officers, with whom he had much discourse about his voyage, and many compliments and ceremonies from them ; and here he had opportunity of speaking with them about ships for his transportation, wherein they promised, and performed all courtesy.

Meets Blake and Monk on the subject of his voyage.

The Council made this order :—

“These are to will and require you to permit and suffer the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke to ship and transport his necessaries and horses, without any let or molestation, in order to his going Ambassador from this Commonwealth to the Queen of Sweden, of which you are not to fail.

“Given at the Council of State at Whitehall, this 12th of October, 1653.

“Signed in the name and by order of
the Councell of State,

“WILLIAM SYDENHAM, President.

“*To the Commissioners of the Customs.*”

They made another order, signed by the President and five members of the Council, for payment of £500 to Whitelocke upon account, directed to Mr. Frost; and another to the Commissioners of Haberdashers' Hall for £1000 more, upon account to Whitelocke, towards defraying of the charges of his embassy.

October 13, 1653.

The Queen
of Sweden
expected
at Gothen-
burg.

On the back of the Council's order, Whitelocke subscribed an acquittance for £500. Lagerfeldt's secretary brought news from his Lordship to Whitelocke, that the Queen of Sweden was resolved to reside this winter at Gothenburg, which news Whitelocke had cause to wish might be true, and it would save him his land journey.

Lagerfeldt's secretary desired Whitelocke to appoint a time and place for his Lordship and Whitelocke to meet the next day; and although Lagerfeldt, in ceremony, should have come to Whitelocke if he desired to speak with him, yet Whitelocke appointed a meeting at a friend's chamber in Whitehall at the time desired.

October 14, 1653.

The commissioners for compounding gave their warrant to the treasurers for the payment of the £1000 last ordered to Whitelocke.

The Queen
invites the
Ambassador
to Gothen-
burg.

He met this afternoon with Lagerfeldt, who showed him a letter under the Queen of Sweden's hand, that she intended to be at Gothenburg this winter, for the better despatch of the Holland and English affairs; and wished Lagerfeldt, that if the resolution

held of sending an ambassador to her from England, that he should counsel the ambassador to come directly to Gothenburg, where he should find the Queen. Whitelocke doubted whether this purpose of her Majesty would hold, but Lagerfeldt was confident it would.

They had much discourse what provisions Whitelocke should make, and about the Swedish prizes; and Lagerfeldt said, this was no good beginning of amity; that Whitelocke's negotiation would be furthered by the release of them, and perhaps obstructed by the detention of them. Whitelocke insisted upon the point of justice, whether those things were lawful prize or not, yet was very sensible of the consequence thereof as to his business; and therefore laboured with the Council, though in vain, for the release of them.

October 15, 1653.

Sir Charles Oulsey, and divers other members of the Parliament, dined with Whitelocke at his brother Wilson's house, and had much discourse with him touching his journey, and the deferring of it till the Spring, before which time he was persuaded and (by these and some others in power, as far as they could engage) promised that he should not be put upon it. The reasons given by themselves were the danger and almost impassableness of the northern seas in winter, that the Spring was more seasonable for the journey, and it would be no prejudice to the affairs of England to put it off till then.

Proposal to defer the Embassy negatived.

Whitelocke had the more cause to hope it might be so, because the Council of State had very much de-

layed the business, and in two months together had not prepared any commission, instructions, or credentials; and at this time of the year, though the wind had been several times fair, had deferred the business.

Sir Charles Oulsey and Mr. Moyer, being members of the Council, said they would move the Council this afternoon for an order to put off his going till the Spring; but Whitelocke desired them to consider whether such a motion might not revive the business, which now lay quiet, and, being stirred, might put the Council in mind to order his speedy departure rather than his longer stay: but these gentlemen were confident to get the Council's order for deferring his journey, and he must leave it to them, who were masters of their own motions and councillors themselves. They made this motion to the Council in the afternoon, but with contrary success to what they undertook, and what Whitelocke and his friends expected.

Mr. Bushell, an ingenious gentleman, who had been a servant to the Lord Chancellor Bacon, sent a civil letter to Whitelocke, with a noble present,—a curious rich cabinet of green velvet, with silver lace; in it were two dozen of quart glasses of the most rare and best distilled spirits of hot waters, after the direction of his Lord; and every glass had its screws, and cover of Welsh silver, chiefly found out by himself. It was suitable to the time and journey.*

The Council made several orders for hangings, household stuff, coaches, and other things for Whitelocke's journey.

* [This is doubtless the same cabinet of hot waters which Whitelocke presented to Queen Christina toward the close of the Embassy.]

In the evening, Sir Charles Oulsey, Mr. Strickland, and Alderman Tichborne came to Whitelocke as a committee of the Council, and acquainted him that the Council had this day taken into consideration the business of his journey into Sweden, and had sent them to him to let him know, that upon serious debate, as affairs now stand, the Council found it necessary that Whitelocke should transport himself with all expedition into Sweden, and desired him to prepare himself accordingly. Whitelocke told them he was much surprised with this unexpected message and command, especially having been assured by some (and of no small capacity to make it good) that he should not be put upon this journey till the Spring; and that some of this committee were persuaded that they could procure an order of the Council for his stay till that time; and now to bring such a positive order to the contrary, and the allowance yet voted was so short, this time of the year so unseasonable, his wife's condition so unfit to be left, and the public affairs not requiring his speedy departure, seemed strange to him, and was the less expected by him. The committee replied, that the Council had weighed all considerations, and found it requisite that he should go as soon as possibly he could. Whitelocke then desired them, as private friends, to acquaint him how it came to pass, that upon the motion of some of them for his stay till Spring, it should be ordered that speedily he must take his voyage. They answered, that when the motion was made, it brought matters to the consideration of the Council which otherwise perhaps would not have been stirred or thought upon; and as (they confessed) himself had said before, the

moving of the business occasioned the order, which otherwise probably had not been yet made; and what his friends designed by moving it to have been a service to him, proved an inconvenience: for which they were sorry, but could not now help it; and so the committee left him.

This put Whitelocke to some perplexity, and his wife into great passion; but the engagement was too far past, to disobey or dispute commands of superiors; he saw no other way but to conform: and still resolving to trust God for his protection and blessing, he determined to buckle himself to his business with diligence, and to endeavour the speedy preparation of things necessary for his voyage, and that with all diligence.

October 16, 1653.

Attends the
French
Church.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke was at the French Church, and had one of his chaplains in the afternoon to officiate in his house, his wife not being well; and he had leisure to retire himself to private meditations on the Holy Word.

October 17, 1653.

Whitelocke was invited to meet Cromwell, and the land and sea officers, at a public dinner and entertainment at Grocers' Hall.

Further
prepara-
tions for
departure.

The Council took yet no further order about the rest of his money, nor for his commissions and instructions; nevertheless sent to him speedily to take his journey. He, to prevent any censure of his negligence, directed the hiring of one merchant-ship to carry his baggage, and another for his horses. He

ordered no goods to be taken on board any of his ships, nor as belonging to his company, unless they had upon the packet or trunk Whitelocke's coat of arms in a small escutcheon of a print properly made for it; and with this mark the officers passed all goods without search. He sealed writings for the selling of his estate, and to prevent controversies after his death, and to raise portions for his younger children; he appointed servants to manage his affairs in the country; and to his wife he left the command of all.

October 18, 1653.

Whitelocke made correspondents to answer all his bills of exchange, his brothers-in-law, Mr. John Carleton and Mr. Samuel Wilson, merchants, of good value and credit, and his kind friends. Appoints
his agents.

For private letters he chiefly desired his old friends Mr. Hall and Mr. Cokaine, now living in his house, and well acquainted in the army and with many in power, to receive and answer such letters; and Mr. Cokaine constantly to send to him, and to act for his affairs here as there should be occasion.

And for more public letters, he settled a correspondence with his friends Mr. Thurloe, Secretary to the Council, Sir Charles Oulsey, and others.

October 19, 1653.

Upon advice and encouragement of Cromwell, Whitelocke sent to Lagerfeldt, "that if he pleased to accompany Whitelocke, as his friend, to a dinner in the City, where he should meet the Lord General Cromwell, the generals at sea, and many of the land and Entertain-
ment to
Whitelocke
and Crom-
well at
Grocers'
Hall.

sea officers, that his company would be acceptable to them all, as it was to Whitelocke at all times."

Lagerfeldt came willingly to Whitelocke, and they went together to Grocers' Hall, where the feast was; and this Whitelocke designed, that Lagerfeldt might be a witness of the solemnity and of the unity of that company, being three hundred officers. Before dinner, Mr. Peters prayed and expounded a place of Scripture, and a psalm was sung; Lagerfeldt being present and very attentive. At dinner, Lagerfeldt sat by Cromwell at the board's end; Whitelocke on the right-hand bench uppermost. The General discoursed a little in Latin with Lagerfeldt, Whitelocke more. There were three very long tables full in the hall; those at each table severally, and with ceremony, first drank to Cromwell, then to Lagerfeldt, and they afterwards, severally, drank to each table; then all the tables together drank to Whitelocke, wishing him a good voyage, and their respects to the Queen of Sweden; with which ceremonies Lagerfeldt seemed much pleased, and that he was admitted to this meeting.

After the solemnities were passed, every one parted to their several lodgings and occasions. Lagerfeldt had much discourse with Whitelocke in their return from this meeting, wondering at the civility and good order of so great a company, and that there was not a health drunk,* nor the least rudeness among any of them. Whitelocke told him this was their constant

* [Drinking of healths was considered an act of profaneness and wickedness by the party and the sect to which Whitelocke belonged: *vide infra*, 20th December, 1653, where Whitelocke refuses to drink to the Commonwealth of England. The remark however seems out of place on this occasion, where the healths of Cromwell, Lagerfeldt, and Whitelocke himself were drunk.]

demeanour, which Lagerfeldt highly commended; and after ceremonies they also parted.

October 20, 1653.

By appointment, Whitelocke met Lagerfeldt at the Doctors' Commons, to speak with the Judges of the Admiralty about the Swedish ships detained for prize. In the discourse with the judges, Lagerfeldt betrayed much choler and passion; Whitelocke pressed to the judges the release of those ships, and had good words, but little effect thereof could be obtained.

The Swedish prizes.

Whitelocke received £1000 more, in part of his allowance for his expenses.

October 21, 1653.

After much protraction of time, the Council at length reported to the Parliament a commission, credential letters, and instructions for Whitelock, as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Queen of Sweden.

Report of Whitelocke's Commission.

They found work enough this day to read, debate, and pass them in the House; and disputes were raised in some of the particulars, and most from those who had least understanding and experience in affairs of this nature: but at length they passed as they were reported.

October 22, 1653.

The custody of the library at St. James's had been formerly committed to Whitelocke, wherein were many rare manuscripts and choice books of the King's, whereof Whitelocke was a lover and a careful preserver, otherwise they had all been sold and embezzled.

Whitelocke transfers the custody of the Royal Library.

Upon Whitelocke's going out of England, Mr. Lawrence procured an order for Whitelocke to deliver up the keys of that library to the Committee of the Council appointed to take care of it, which Whitelocke obeyed; and so Mr. Lawrence got the custody of it to himself.*

October 23, 1653.

Prayers for
his safe
voyage.

This Lord's Day Whitelocke was at Mr. Cokaine's church, where was a Christian mention and commendation of him in their prayers to God, that he would be a protection and blessing to him in his journey. In the afternoon he staid at home, his wife not being well, and he not long to stay with her.

The wind came about very fair for Whitelocke's voyage; and at this time of the year, it was hard for one that must go, yet to lose such opportunities; but the Council were not ready, and Whitelocke must go when they command, and yet attend their leisure.

October 24, 1653.

Blake and
Monk give
orders for
his voyage.

The General at sea gave forth this order for Whitelocke's voyage:—

“After you have received on board the Lord Whitelocke, with his retinue, and such goods as he shall think fit to send on board you, you are then, wind and weather permitting, to set sail with the ship under your command, in

* [This Collection, which was saved from dispersion by Whitelocke, afterwards formed the basis of the Royal Library of manuscript and printed books, presented to the British Museum, in 1757, by King George II. It contained the celebrated MS. of the Septuagint, for which, says Whitelocke elsewhere, “I could have had hundreds of pounds if I could have been corrupted to part with it.”]

company with the 'Elizabeth' frigate, and such other vessels as are appointed to attend upon the said Lord Whitelocke, Ambassador Extraordinary for Sweden, who are hereby required to observe your orders; and yourself to observe such instructions and directions as you shall receive from the said Lord Ambassador, whom you are to land at such port as he shall think fit; which done, you are to make your repair to Portsmouth, there to receive further orders; and this shall be your warrant. Given under our hands and seals, at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1653.

"JO. BLAKE,

"GEO. MONK.

"*To Captain Nicholas Foster,*

"*Commander of the Phœnix frigate.*"

The copy of this order was brought to Whitelocke, as a testimony of the high respect to him, by giving him the command of the frigates and other vessels which were to transport him; and that, knowing his power, he might make the better use of it.

October 25, 1653.

Whitelocke sat in the Chancery, and after he had given the rule in two or three motions, he rose and took his leave of his brethren, and of the gentlemen at the bar, and of the officers, who gave him all testimonies of civility and respect, as is usually done to men in authority. He had the like courtesy from the other Courts in Westminster Hall, whom he saluted as he passed by them.

Whitelocke
takes leave
of the
Court of
Chancery;

Besides his private and particular seeking to God for his counsel and blessing in this undertaking, he had the joint prayers of his friends with him; divers of them met in the evening at his brother Wilson's

house; several members of Mr. Cokaine's church, and among them Mr. Taylor, expounded a place of Scripture very pertinently, and several of them prayed very affectionately for Whitelocke, and the good success of his business; and divers expounded places of Scripture suitable to the occasion. Whitelocke's wife was present, full of grief, trouble, and passion. Whitelocke himself spake to the company to this effect:—

“My very worthy Friends,

and ex-
horts his
friends.

“Such you have showed yourselves to be by this meeting; several of you have spoken what it hath pleased God to put into your hearts, and that with great piety and affection, and have sought God on my behalf; and I suppose you may expect to hear something from me likewise on this occasion, wherein I am so much concerned. I shall not hold you long, and shall speak from that Scripture from which I have taken much comfort, Genesis xxviii. 15, where God makes this promise to Jacob, in his journey to Padan Aram: ‘Behold I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land.’

“Jacob was a faithful servant of God, and heir of the promise; I am a poor inconsiderable worm; yet God delights to glorify his mercy on the meanest subjects. God directed this journey of Jacob's, I hope he hath directed mine, and called me to it; I am sure I did not seek it, nor had ever any one a freer call to any service. Methinks I hear the same words spoken by the same God, though to so worthless a creature as I am: ‘Behold, I am with thee in all places whither thou goest: I will bring thee again

into this land.' My confidence is in this mercy of God; and my hopes, that he may use me as an instrument to promote his honour, hath been my chief motives for this undertaking, and is my only hope to partake of this gracious promise. These words to Jacob are spoken to all who shall be at any time in God's service, and depend on him.

"That I have designed hereby to serve my country, without expectation of profit to myself, may have the more credit from the smallness of my allowances, and the unlikelihood of advantage by the employment.

"Nor was there much pleasure to be aimed at in so long and dangerous a journey to the northern countries, in the depth of winter; nor could much honour be added by it to my present condition, and, if any, it would be far-fetched, short, and dear-bought.

"It is the honour of God, the good of his people, the advantage of my country, which are the grounds of this my undertaking; wherein I desire to trust in my God, who hath been with me in many former great actions and perils, 'in six troubles and in seven.' I hope he will be still unto me (as he is to all that rest upon him) a sun to direct me, to give me light to shine upon me, and to comfort me; a shield to protect and defend me and my company; and an exceeding great reward to me, far beyond any that the most bountiful State or Prince can bestow upon their best deserving servants.

"I have but one thing more to trouble you with at this time; it is, to return my most hearty thanks to you for the favour and comfort of this meeting, for your pious exhortations, and fervent prayers to God on my behalf.

“ Oh that I might be carried forth in this action upon the wings of prayer ! I hope I shall ; and make it my earnest suit to you, my Christian friends, that as now, and at several other times, you and many others have been seeking the Lord for me, that your prayers may not cease,—that they may not leave me when I shall leave you ; but that whilst I am with you, and in my absence from you, I may be remembered in your prayers, and recommended to the protection, guidance, and blessing of Him who is the God of prayer and merey ; who delights in such offerings as these, and never denies his blessings to those that seek him with fervent hearts and prayers.”

Mr. Cokaine concluded with very pathetical and affectionate prayers to God on Whitelocke's behalf, very suitable and pertinent to the occasion ; and then, it being late, they parted, with all love and hearty expressions of good wishes to him.

October 26, 1653.

Whitelocke fails to obtain release of Swedish prizes.

Lagerfeldt and Bonele had earnestly solicited Whitelocke to procure the discharge of the Swedish ships detained as prize, whereby he would engage the merchants and seamen, and the whole state of Sweden.

He laboured heartily to do it, and personally with the Judges of the Admiralty, and with the Council, and chiefly upon the argument of furthering their service by it ; yet could he not obtain the least favour from them on the Swedes' behalf, but the business was delayed, and uneffected, to Whitelocke's great discouragement.

Cromwell sent one of his gentlemen with a present to Whitelocke,—a sword and a pair of spurs, richly inlaid with gold, of a noble work and fashion.

An old and faithful servant to Whitelocke, who had served his father and him forty years, would needs come himself to London to take leave of his master, and in his cart brought up with him meal and other things for Whitelocke's journey. He would not be persuaded to stay all night in London; but in his return home, near Maidenhead, he suddenly fell down in the highway, not able to speak; his men helped him up into his cart, and there, presently and quietly, he departed out of this world, and became a saint in heaven. He was on earth a faithful, discreet, and loving servant and friend to Whitelocke and his family.

White-
locke's old
servant
takes leave
of him, and
dies.

According to order, Whitelocke sent in to the Council a list of all his retinuc.

White-
locke's Re-
tinue.

Chaplains, Mr. Ingelo, Mr. De la Marche.

Physician, Dr. Daniel Whistler.

Steward, John Walker, Esq.

Receiver and Chief Secretary, Daniel Earle, Esq.; his menial servant.

Gentleman of the Horse, Mr. Stapleton.

Clerk of the Stable and Sewer, Captain Crispe.

Second Sewer, Lieutenant Hughes.

Apothecary, Mr. John Preston.

Gentlemen admitted to his table: Colonel James Whitelocke and William Whitelocke, his sons; Colonel Potley, Mr. Annesley, son to the Lord of Valentia, Captain Richard Beake, Captain Unton Croke, Mr. Vavasour, eldest son to Sir William Vavasour, Mr. Burges, Mr. Andrewes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Moreland, Mr. Potley. These gentlemen had of their servants about twenty-five, and all their lacqueys in Whitelocke's livery.

Of his bedchamber, William de Vaux, Jo. Taylor, William Fitzherbert.

Barber, Mr. Richard Ratcliffe.

Messenger, Mr. Richard Meredith.

Chiefly for music, Mr. Smith, Mr. Maylard.

Purveyor, Mr. Studeley, a trooper.

Gentlemen servitors at Whitelocke's table, Mr. Frye, Mr. Davys, Mr. Draper, Mr. Bunbury, troopers.

Pages, Mr. Parry, Mr. Elsing, Mr. Croke, Mr. Newbury.

Lacqueys, Robert Dun, Robert Lewis, Thomas Briers, Robert Story, Humphry Murrey, Richard Cranke, Thomas Lloyd, Arthur Hutton, of the General's regiment of foot, proper, stout, and civil men.

Trumpets, Edward Simpson, William Waters.

Chief cooks, Richard Hill, Richard Dunne.

Second cooks, Henry Collington, William Hains.

Butlers, Thomas Thoroughton, Whitelocke's menial servant, and Christopher Hen.

Coachmen, Edward Ellis, an old menial servant, and Robert Ash, a menial servant.

Postilions, Aur. Newman, Roger Lowe.

Grooms, Nicholas Hughes, Thomas Hall, Francis Sharpe, and Nathaniel Sharpe, menial servants.

Porter, Thomas Home, menial servant.

Sculleryman, Sebastian Corall.

There were besides several other persons; and for the laundry, three women, Elizabeth Roberts, Susan Turner, and another.

The whole number of his retinue was about one hundred persons.

October 27, 1653.

Lagerfeldt's secretary brought to Whitelocke, from his master, a Latin letter, to desire his assistance in furthering Lagerfeldt's despatch, and the discharge of

the Swedish ships. Whitelocke desired that Lagerfeldt would meet him in the afternoon, and they had much discourse together about the ships: it was excused by Whitelocke the best he could, that they were not yet discharged.

Whitelocke's wife, though so passionately averse to his journey, yet when she saw he must go, she took pains in her own person to buy necessaries, and make provisions of wine, beer, meal, baked meats, butter, cheese, fruits, sweetmeats, and all provisions, and household stuff, hard to be met with in Sweden, but necessary for his accommodation. He had divers good horses of his own for the coach and saddle; and he bought more, the best that he could meet with, though at high prices, resolving to have, as far as he could, the best of everything, for the honour of his country.

He caused a merchant-ship, called the Adventure, to be hired; and therein, with deal boards, to be made racks, mangers, and divisions, for all his horses, to keep them from hurting themselves, or one another, in the tossing of the ship. He contrived there also stowage for hay, oats, and straw; so that it was a complete stable on ship-board.

Another ship, called the Fortune, was hired to carry his baggage and provisions, which was no small quantity. He took an account of his servants how ready all things were for his voyage.

By his appointment, all his company met in the chapel at Whitehall, to seek God for his protection and blessing on them in their intended journey.

A parting
exhortation
in the
chapel at
Whitehall.

The doors were open; Mr. Cokaine, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Ingelo prayed, and expounded several texts of Scripture, giving good exhortations to all the com-

pany with great fervency, and pertinent to the occasion ; so that many affirmed they never were at any meeting of this nature which appeared more spiritual and comfortable to their souls than this was.

Whitelocke himself concluded by speaking to the company to this effect :—

“ Gentlemen,

“ I do acknowledge myself much engaged to you all, who are willing to adventure your lives with me in our intended journey ; but before we begin it, I shall take leave to inform you of very great hardships and dangers which you must expect to meet with in my company : therefore I shall say to you, as Gideon said to his people, Whosoever is fearful, let him return and depart. And as Judas Maccabæus commanded those of his company, that if any of them were fearful, they should return, the like desire I make to you, whose hearts may fail you, who have any doubt to hazard yourselves with me in these dangers and hardships which, I must tell you beforehand, will be great and many. To such of you I give my true consent, nay, I require them to return and leave me, and I willingly disengage them.

“ I hold it fit likewise to acquaint you that I shall endeavour strictly to observe the decree of Joshua— ‘ As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.’ Through his grace, I shall resolve to keep a strict discipline and order in the government of my house ; not to permit any debauchery, profaneness, licentiousness, swearing, cursing, quarrelling, or the like, as far as God shall enable me to hinder it ; but such offences and disorders shall be punished, in whomsoever of my family they shall be found.

“Therefore, as Joshua said to his people, ‘If it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve.’ If any of you have the least reluctance in your own hearts as to the severity of my discipline, and cannot with freedom submit thereunto, I entreat such not to deceive themselves and me by hoping for connivance to any disorders, which I shall not bear : but such will do better yet to withdraw themselves and stay at home, rather than among strangers to dishonour the profession of religion and their country.

“But if your courages do serve you for this action, and that you will fully conform to the orders of my family, I do, with all willingness and affection, receive you into my company, rejoicing at this great testimony of your love to your country and to me, by adventuring your lives with me ; and I do promise to take care of you, as of my sons that go along with me. I hope God will make me a father to all my family ; nothing in my power shall be wanting for your accommodations and safety, no hardship or danger put upon you but I shall be willing to bear my share of it ; and I doubt not but the blessing of God will go along with us.”

With this the company were dismissed : not one of them started from their former engagements ; but many more pressed to be entertained, which the smallness of his allowance would not admit, so that he was fain to put off above two hundred gentlemen and others, who made suit to go with him in this journey.

Ordered to
receive his
Commis-
sion from
the House.

October 28, 1653.

A messenger brought this order to Whitelocke :—

“ Friday, 28th October, 1653.

“ Resolved upon the question by the Parliament, that tomorrow morning be appointed for the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke, Lord Ambassador Extraordinary to the Queen of Sweden, to come to the House to receive his commission.

“ HEN. SCOBEL, Clerk Par.”

Whitelocke took more pains about the release of the Swedish ships, and had fair promises, but the performance delayed and failed.

October 29, 1653.

Attends
Parliament
to receive
his Com-
mission at
the table of
the House.

According to order, Whitelocke this morning attended the Parliament. Many members of the House came to him to the Court of Wards Chamber, where he staid till he should be called, and they wished him a good voyage.

Within a quarter of an hour he was sent for. The Sergeant was ready, and brought him into the House with usual ceremonies up to the table. The Speaker said to him :—

“ My Lord,

“ The Parliament have appointed you to go Ambassador Extraordinary from them to the Queen of Sweden ; and by their command I deliver to you your commission and credential letters and instructions, with another letter to the Queen, and wish you a safe and prosperous journey and return back again to your native country.”

As the custom is, Whitelocke spake nothing, but received the commission, letters, and instructions from

the Clerk, to whom the Speaker gave them to deliver unto Whitelocke, who returned to the door, performing the usual ceremonies ; and the members stood up in their places, and put off their hats as he passed by saluting them, a ceremony seldom used to any but foreign public ministers.

Many members and others came to him when he was come forth of the House, to take their leaves of him, and testified great civility and respect to him.

The commission which the Speaker delivered to Whitelocke was under the Great Seal, and was thus :—

“Parlamentum reipublicæ Angliæ omnibus et singulis ad quos præsentēs hæ nostræ litteræ pervenerint, salutem. The Commission,

“Quum libertate jam Dei optimi maximi auspiciis recuperata et restituta Anglicæ reipublicæ, decretum a Parlamento, necnon edicto edito promulgatum sit, velle atque admodum cupere populum Anglicanum et quod ad se attinet operam daturum, ut quæ sibi amicitia cum exteris quibuscunque nationibus vel antiquitus vel recens intercedit, sarta tecta conservetur, vel etiam redintegrato si opus esset fœdere, renovetur :

“Nos idcirco, ne inceptum tam bonum tamque pacificum finem speratum non assequeretur, omnes respublicas, status, principes, civitates ac populos, et præsertim Serenissimam et Excellentissimam Christinam, Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Reginam, magnam Principem Finlandiæ, Ducem Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Statini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ, et Vandaliæ, Principem Rugiæ necnon Dominam Ingridiæ et Wisimariæ, etc., hac de re certiores faciendam esse decrevimus ; cum qua ut amicitiam et societatem arctiorem contrahere velimus, et antiqua communisque religionis defensio, et commercium non inutiliter frequentissimum suadeat et hortatur. Sciatis igitur quod nos prudentiæ, solertiæ, diligentiae, fidei ac probitati spectatis-

simæ illustrissimi viri Bulstrodi Whitelocke, constabularii castri de Windsor, et unius custodum magni sigilli reipublicæ Angliæ, plurimum tribuentes, ipsum prænominatum Bulstrodam Whitelocke nostrum verum et indubitatum commissarium, procuratorem, deputatum, et legatum extraordinarium, ad prædictum negotium fecimus, constituimus, ordinavimus, ac deputavimus, dantes eidem et committentes plenam potestatem et auctoritatem, nomine nostro, cum prædicta Serenissima et Excellentissima Suecorum Regina ejusque procuratoribus ac deputatis, ad hoc sufficientem auctoritatem et potestatem habentibus, tractandi et transigendi ea omnia quæ ad arcitiorem amicitiam ac fœdus, et antiquum liberumque commercium inter Angliæ rempublicam et Excellentissimam Suecorum Reginam et quoscunque sub utriusque ditione positos, promovendum ac stabiliendum conducunt et faciunt; secundum ea mandata quæ à Parlamento, vel à concilio status Parlamenti auctoritate constituto, jam accepit, aut per litteras accepturus est. Promittentes bona fide nos quæ inter prædictam Serenissimam et Excellentissimam Suecorum Reginam ejusque procuratores et deputatos, atque prænominatum Bulstrodam Whitelocke nostrum commissarium et legatum extraordinarium, transacta et conclusa fuerint, modo illo quo supradictum est, ea omnia rata ac firma habituros, et ex nostra parte observaturos. In cujus rei testimonium hisce litteris (quibus manus prolocutoris nostri subscribitur) magnum reipublicæ Angliæ sigillum opponi fecimus. Datum in palatio Westmonasteriensi, vigesimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo tertio.

“ FRANCISCUS ROUS,

“ Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ.”*

* [It will be observed that these instruments were exclusively in the name of the Parliament, and signed by the Speaker and Clerk of Parliament. They are the formal documents. The Ambassador's real instructions proceeded from Cromwell and the Council of State. See *infra*.]

The credential letters delivered by the Speaker to Whitelocke were thus :—

“ *Parlamentum, etc., Serenissimæ Principi Christinæ, Suecorum etc. Reginae, salutem et prosperos rerum successus.* ” The Credentials.

“ SERENISSIMA REGINA,

“ Cum utile et necessarium rite judicatur, ut qui communi saluti prospectum vellent, in commune consulere, et consilia invicem miscerent; adeoque multis officiis crescat indies amicitia: idcirco visum est Parlamento reipublicæ Angliæ delegare ad Majestatem vestram prænotabilem atque illustrissimum virum, Bulstrodam Whitelocke, constabularium castrî de Windsor, atque unum e custodibus magni sigilli reipublicæ Angliæ, legatum nostrum extraordinarium, ut de consiliis et negotiis, quæ utrique genti et præsidio et honori sint, vobiscum communicaret. Rogamus igitur Majestatem vestram, ut legatum nostrum extraordinarium amice et benigniter excipiat; et audientiam quotiescunque petierit concedatis: utque fides iis quæ à parte hujus reipublicæ ab eo proponenda sunt adhibeatur. Et sic vestram Majestatem valere jubemus; prospera omnia, et felicia, vobis comprecantes. Datis Westmonasterio 29 Octobris, 1653. Subscripsit, et sigillum Parlamenti imprimendum curavit,

“ FR. ROUS,

“ Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.”

The instructions which the Speaker delivered to Whitelocke were these :—

“ The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England The Instructions. having in this present conjuncture of affairs thought good to send an Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Sweden, to communicate with that Queen in matters relating to the common good, and having experience of your fidelity and discretion, held it requisite to make choice of and appoint you to this negotiation.

“ You are therefore to transport yourself, with all con-

venient speed, to the Queen of Sweden, at Stockholm or elsewhere, and deliver your credentials to her Majesty.

“ You are to signify to the said Queen, that the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, taking notice of the constant intercourse of friendship and amity which hath always been between England and Sweden, out of which great profit and happiness hath redounded unto both; and that, although it hath pleased the gracious and all-disposing hand of God, for the good of this nation, to change the government of the same, that yet the same common interests that first begat former alliances and confederacies between them do still continue, and oblige both to desire the good of each other.

“ And considering withal that the affairs of Christendom, and especially of the neighbouring Princes and States, through Divine Providence are in such posture and condition as to give greater opportunity and lay stronger obligations upon both, to entertain a nearer union and correspondence than heretofore, whereby the commerce and tranquillity of both nations may be preserved and provided for, with respect also to the common interest and concernment of the true Protestant religion :

“ And the said Queen having, by her late public minister hither, signified her royal inclinations and willingness, by all good means, to conserve and increase the ancient good understanding between these states; the Parliament, upon these and other weighty considerations, and to show how acceptable the former overtures of her said Majesty have been to them,

“ Have thought fit, by you, to make tender of the friendship of this Commonwealth unto the said Queen of Sweden; and to let her know, that the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England is not only ready to renew, and preserve inviolably, that amity and good correspondence which hath anciently been between the English and Swedish nations, but are further willing to enter into a more strict alliance and union than hath hitherto been, for the good of both;

with such further expressions of the affections and good wishes of the Parliament to the prosperity of her affairs as you shall judge requisite.

“You shall, as occasion shall be offered, present to the said Queen the true state of the present differences between this Commonwealth and that of the United Provinces.

“If any person shall take upon him the quality of president, agent, ambassador, or public minister there, from the son of the late King, and endeavour to be received in that quality, you are to do your utmost to oppose and hinder the same; and if such person shall have had audience in that quality before your arrival, you are to deliver in your protest against the same, at such season as you shall judge most convenient.

“You are to perform all usual civilities and correspondences with the public ministers of other Princes or States, friends or allies to this Commonwealth, who shall be residing with the said Queen of Sweden during your abode there.

“You shall apply yourself, as cause shall require, to remove all misrepresentations that are or shall be made by any whomsoever, of the proceedings of the Commonwealth’s affairs, and of the Parliament; and shall from time to time, by writing, printing, or otherwise, declare the true state thereof; and endeavour the conserving of a good understanding and correspondence between these two States.

“You are to have a due regard, during your abode there, to all such matters wherein the trade and commerce of this Commonwealth and the people thereof are concerned; and to procure right to be done according to justice and equity.

“You are to pursue the present instructions, and such as you shall from time to time receive from the Parliament or Council of State, as either exigencies, necessities, convenience, or advantages shall require; and are from time

to time to give full and frequent notice of your proceedings to the Parliament, or Council of State established by their authority.

“HEN. SCOBLE,

“*Westminster,*

“*21st October, 1653.*”

“Clerk to the Parliament.

White-
locke's al-
lowances.

Of the first four months of Whitelocke's allowance, £4000 was received by him, and £1500 of it, besides the other moneys, was laid out in provisions and advance-moneys; the remaining £2000 for the first six months was ordered by the Council to be paid, £1000 of it at six weeks, and the other £1000 at six weeks after that; and that the time of his monthly allowance was to begin from the day he was approved of by the Parliament for that service. Of the remaining money in his hand of his allowance, being £2500, he changed £300 into gold, the rest into our halfcrown pieces of silver, which are current in Sweden and Germany; and these he carried with him in an iron trunk.

Attends the
Council.

In the evening, Whitelocke attended the Council to take his leave of them, and to know what further service they had to command him. The Parliament called him in, without attendance of a quarter of an hour; on the Council he waited an hour before he was admitted. Being come in, the then President, Mr. Strickland, bade him sit down in a chair set for him; and when Whitelocke had told them the occasion of his coming, the President gravely said to him,

His private
Instruc-
tions from
the Council.

“My Lord Ambassador,

“I am commanded by the Council to deliver to you your private instructions; and to tell you, that the Council hath very much confidence of your fidelity and ability

for this service, and do hope that God will give you a blessing to it. They wish you a very happy and prosperous journey, and desire to hear from you as often as you can."

He delivered the instructions to Whitelocke, who, with usual ceremonies, took his leave. The private instructions were in two papers; the first paper was this :—

*"Instructions for Bulstrode Whitelocke, Constable, etc.,
Ambassador Extraordinary, etc.*

"Your negotiation being to the Queen of Sweden, when you have delivered your credentials to her, and made your general propositions contained in your instructions from the Parliament, and find that there is a good reception thereof, and a propensity in that Queen to enter into an alliance with this Commonwealth :

"1. You shall for the matter of that alliance propose the articles herewith delivered to you, either together, or at several times, as you shall find it most convenient; and you have hereby power to alter, amplify, add unto and amend the same, or any of them, holding to the substance of them, as you in your judgement shall find best, and as you can agree them for the service of the Commonwealth.

"2. If any particular shall be propounded unto you on the part of the said Queen and Crown, for the completing of this alliance, you are hereby authorized to treat and debate thereupon, as also upon any the articles of former treaties that have been between the two nations, and to conclude the same, provided they be within the articles herewith delivered to you: if you shall judge them otherwise, then to transmit them to the Council, for the Parliament's or Council's further direction in these particulars.

"3. You are to let that Queen know, that you are come qualified with powers to communicate with her Majesty, by what ways and means to open a free trade through the

Sound; that it may not depend upon the will of the King of Denmark, or the United Provinces of the Netherlands, when they shall think fit, as now they have done, to obstruct it.

“4. If you shall find, upon a general deliberation with the Queen concerning the ground and the importance thereof to both States, that she is sensible of the oppressions and restraint which is put upon trade here, and that she is inclinable to join with the Parliament for removing the same, you are to let her know that the Parliament is willing to send into those seas, in fit and convenient time, a fleet so considerable that may be able, through God’s blessing, to defend itself against the contrary party, who, no question, will join their strength for the prosecution of their intentions. And thereupon are desirous to know what assistance Sweden will contribute for the countenance and carrying on of the undertaking, so just in itself and so advantageous to both nations. And in case the Queen shall descend to particulars, and make propositions accordingly, you are to transmit them to the Council, for the Parliament’s or Council’s further direction.

“5. Your Lordship is to take care, especially whilst the treaty is on foot, that nothing be permitted or done directly or indirectly, so far as shall lie in your power to hinder, in favour or assistance of Charles Stuart or his party or abettors.

“Given at Whitehall, the 28th of October, 1653.

“Signed in the name and by order of the
Council of State,

“WAL. STRICKLAND, President.”

The articles mentioned in these instructions were, in substance, the same with those which were afterwards concluded by Whitelocke in his treaty; saving such alterations and amendments as he judged fit then to consent unto, and which were at his coming

home, upon a strict examination, and comparing of them with his instructions, approved, and fully ratified by the Protector and his Council.

The other paper of private instructions delivered to Whitelocke was this :—

“ Lord Ambassador, his private instructions concerning guns.”

“ Instructions for Bulstrode Whitelocke, Constable, etc., Ambassador, etc.

“ Forasmuch as it is conceived requisite that a quantity of guns hereafter mentioned, or so many of them as can be had, should be speedily procured in Sweden, for the service of this Commonwealth, viz.—

50 cannon, carrying 28 lb. bullet ;

100 pieces, carrying 36 lb. bullet ;

200 pieces, carrying 24 lb. bullet ;

200 pieces, carrying 12 lb. bullet ;

all of them to be either brass or copper, and well fortified ; or so many whole culverins, or demi-culverins, as may make up the said number :

“ You are therefore, after your arrival in Sweden, to employ such trusty person as you shall think fit, to inform himself in the most convenient way, what quantities of brass or copper guns, of the respective dimensions above-mentioned, may be there procured, and within what time and at what rates ; and to contract for, and buy, so many of the said number as he can, at the best rates ; and the same to ship and send for London with the first opportunity ; and as many as can be speedily had, by the ships which attend you thither ; charging bills of exchange on the Commissioners of the Customs or Treasurer of the Navy, for payment of the moneys due on such contracts, within convenient time : which bills are to be accordingly paid, coming accompanied with your advice and approbation. And for the better management hereof in point of privacy, and other advantages, you are to give the party so

to be employed such instructions as you shall, upon the place, find most conducing to the said service.

“ Given at Whitehall, the 28th of October, 1653.

“ Signed in the name and by order of the
Council of State,

“ WAL. STRICKLAND, President.”

Whitelocke's returning home with these instruments and papers, caused much trouble and passion at the hastening of him away from his sad wife and family, and from his country.

October 30, 1653.

Whitelocke
attends the
Temple
Church
and dines
with Crom-
well.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke was at the morning service in the Temple Church, where he took leave of his friends. He dined at the Cockpit, at the General's, who treated him with much outward kindness and civility: he was cheerful at dinner, and afterwards took Whitelocke into a private room, where they talked above an hour together. Part of their discourse was this:—

Whitelocke. My Lord, I am to take my leave of your Excellency, and probably my last leave; but while God shall afford me life, I assure your Excellency I shall be diligent and faithful in the trust reposed in me.

Cromwell. My Lord, if we had had the least suspicion of your fidelity, you had not been troubled with this employment; but we have had sufficient experience thereof, and of your diligence and abilities: and I doubt not but God will bless you, and give you a safe and honourable return to your native country, which I heartily wish and pray for, indeed I do.

Wh. I doubt not of your Excellency's good wishes, upon whose account chiefly I have undertaken this service ; and I assure myself of the favour and assistance of your Excellency, in anything that may concern me in my absence, wherein I have two or three humble requests to you.

Crom. You shall find me what I have said, a faithful and affectionate friend to you, both present and absent. I pray let me know what you would particularly leave to my care, and I promise you I shall not fail you in anything of concernment to you.

Wh. One of my suits is, that if, in my absence, my wife or friends shall have occasion to attend your Excellency on my behalf, that they may have the favour of access to you and your Excellency's assistance.

Crom. They shall, at any time, be welcome to me ; and I shall give order for their admittance, and my best furtherance in any matter which shall concern you.

Wh. I humbly thank your Excellency ; and do further entreat, that my bills of exchange upon the Council may be answered, and not delayed : your servant's credit will depend upon it, and a failure therein, especially in a foreign country, is a tender thing.

Crom. I confess that it is a tender point ; and you may be confident you shall not be failed nor delayed therein ; our credit would be wounded thereby. I will take particular care for answering your bills speedily ; nay, I will say more to you,—I know your allowance is but small, I wish it had been more, yet, if I live, I will see that you shall be no loser by this employment ; and though your occasions shall require the expense of more than your allowance, I will see

that it shall be paid ; but I would have you to be as good a husband as you can.

W^h. I shall not spend extravagantly, but the honour of the Commonwealth and the safety of your servant requiring it, which I doubt my allowance will not answer.

Crom. I will see you shall be no loser, but honourably recompensed for your service.

W^h. I most humbly thank your Excellency, and shall depend upon your honour ; and further entreat, that a constant intelligence may be given me of your affairs here, whereby I may be enabled to give a full and clear account thereof, and have the more repute abroad by it : and your Excellency knows that full and frequent intelligence gives life to state affairs, especially foreign.

Crom. It is necessary your Lordship should have a constant correspondence and intelligence from hence kept with you, and, for that end, your friend Mr. Thurloe, who is an able and careful man, shall not fail you.

W^h. I shall be very glad of his correspondence ; and since your Excellency allows me this liberty, give me leave to entreat your opinion in some particulars of my instructions. If I find the Queen willing to join with you, for the gaining of the Sound, and against the Dutch and Danes, and that heartily and hopefully, shall I put on that business to the utmost, and are you willing to enter into such a conjunction ?

Crom. If you find them inclinable to it, put it on as far as you can, and let us hear from you what you judge best to be done in it. No business can be of greater consequence to us and our trade, wherein the

Dutch will endeavour to overreach us ; and it were good to prevent them and the Dane, and first to serve our own interest.

Wh. I shall give your Excellency a clear account of it ; and I believe it will bring the Dutch to reason as soon as anything ; and that your Excellency will not much depend upon them or the Dane, but where their own interest will be served.

Crom. We shall freely leave that and the whole business to your care and prudent managing.

Wh. I shall do the utmost in my capacity to serve you, but must expect to have my actions traduced and scandalized ; but I hope that your Excellency will give no credit to whisperings, or officious words, or letters of pickthanks behind my back.

Crom. I shall not easily give belief to such back-biters ; I hate them ; and what I shall be informed of your actions abroad will hardly create in me an ill opinion of them, before I be certified from yourself.

Wh. It may be your Excellency will hear that I am great with some Cavaliers when I am abroad, and that I make much of them ; and truly that may well be : I love a civility to all, especially to persons of condition, though enemies ; and have ever used it, and perhaps may use it more than ordinary when I am abroad, and to those of the King's party, and by them I may be the better enabled to secure myself, and to understand their designs, which will be no disadvantage to your affairs ; nor shall I ever betray those, or any persons by whom I am trusted.

Crom. I think such a carriage towards them will be prudent, and fit for you to use ; and it will never occasion in me, nor, I hope, in any other sober men,

the least jealousy of your faithfulness; but it may much tend to your security, and to the good of your business.

W. I have but one thing more to trouble your Excellency with; that is, my humble thanks for all your favours, and particularly for the noble present I received from your hand.

Crom. I pray, my Lord, do not speak of so poor a thing; if there were opportunity for me to do honour to your Lordship, I assure you that very few should go before you.

Takes leave
of Crom-
well.

Their discourse ended, being told that they were ready to go to the sermon; after which, Whitelocke took his leave of Cromwell, who, with all ceremony and compliment, parted with him, as also did the rest of the officers then with him, and all of his family and company.

October 31, 1653.

Whitelocke came home late, and found his wife and friends full of sadness and trouble at the thoughts of his speedy departure from them.

The Council, upon Whitelocke's desire, ordered a motion to be made to the Parliament, that Mr. Hagget might by them be appointed to serve as Deputy Recorder for Whitelocke at Bristol, in his absence; which the House ordered accordingly.

The Council also ordered the master of the state-barges to provide barges for Whitelocke and his company, to transport them to Gravesend.

Whitelocke visited Lagerfeldt to take his leave of him, and found him in much passion that he could

not get his despatch ; earnestly labouring to be gone before Whitelocke, and that he might be with the Queen before Whitelocke's coming to her Majesty. Whitelocke also visited Bonele to take his leave of him ; and, amongst other discourse, got from Bonele a character of most of the grandees and persons in favour in the Queen of Sweden's Court, and how they stood affected to this Commonwealth, and what were the most probable means and ways, and who were the most likely persons by whom Whitelocke might bring his business to a happy and desired issue.

NOVEMBER.

November 1, 1653.

Vessels fall
down the
river.

THE Council sent to Whitelocke to hasten him away. He had much trouble about the two hired ships, the *Fortune* and the *Adventure*, which could not be got ready to fall down to the frigates. The provisions and baggage was put on board the *Fortune*, near Blackwall; the hay and oats was on board the *Adventure*, at Gravesend, whither Whitelocke had sent his coach and horses before.

November 2, 1653.

Most of Whitelocke's trunks and followers went down this day to the *Hope*, where his ships lay, and his goods were on board them, only the '*Fortune*' was not yet fallen down, of which he had an account by letters from his steward; and had the less trouble in these matters, which he referred to his officers; and they were the more careful, because he took a constant account of their actions.

November 3, 1653.

Parting
from his
wife and
family.

All things now being in a readiness, Whitelocke's servants and goods on board the ships, and his going

urged by the Council, he must take his leave (and as most judged it, his last leave) of his dearest relations.

His tender and loving wife trembles at the thoughts of it; his sweet and dear children hang upon him, pray him not to go from them, join in tears with their disconsolate mother; and some of them, motherless before, are frightened with an apprehension that they are shortly to become fatherless also: all of them, chiefly those of more years, sufficiently sensible of their expected misery.

Two of them, his eldest sons, he taketh with him; ten more, and most of them little ones, are left behind, adding tears and grief to their comfortless mother; between whom and her perplexed husband some of their parting broken discourse is remembered.

Wife. My dearest love, I would fain speak to you, but tears will not suffer me; let them speak for me, and tell you, you ought not to leave me: for if I cannot, yet—how—because—then—if you will—how can your heart but be melted towards me and these poor children?

Wh. I prithee take more command over thy passion; our present friends, as well as ourselves, will be troubled at it, and it can do neither thee nor me, nor our children, good.

Wife. No, that's my misery, I can do no good by it; yet what I say, if I could prevail with you, would be, I think, I hope, the greatest good that this world can afford us; to me, I am sure it would be so.

Wh. Consider what is best for us all, and let not passions have too much power over us. God knows I leave thee with as sad a heart as ever husband parted with from a most loving wife.

Wife. Oh, then, why will you go? Let me conjure you, by all my tears, by all loves, by the pledges of them, by marriage promises and affections, not to leave me, especially at this time, when the pangs of travail are coming upon me. Alas! what is it I desire but a little time and strength, to enable me to bear you company, and in danger to take part with you?

Wh. I am neither in a capacity to stay, nor you to go: you know the necessity on me: I must go, and go presently.

Wife. Oh, my dear! you must not go; you ought not to go presently, and leave me in this condition. If I were able, I would freely go with you; but to go without me, now, when—can you be forced to it? How have I offended you? How have these poor children displeased you? Can you find in your heart to leave us, and cast us off to misery? I beg of you not to do it, sure; I hope you will not do it.

Wh. Thou knowest my engagement to go, and wert privy and consenting to it; and it was your good moved me to it; and were it not too late, I could freely retire, and satisfy thy earnest request herein.

Wife. This request can never be too late; our children's good, my life, your own life, is concerned, that you should not go; and let me prevail with you not to leave us.

Wh. If I go, I confess my life is in danger; if now I do not go, my life, it may be, is in more danger. Those who have engaged me will not be baffled by me: they have the power; let us have the prudence and temper to submit to that which we cannot well avoid, and which, probably, will be most for all our good.

Wife. I can say no more; but if it be too late, if you must go, though I cannot go with you, yet my prayers shall go with you, that the Lord may preserve you and bring you back again in safety; and when you shall return, as I hope you will, if you find me gone, gone out of this vale of tears and sorrow, yet remember me as a faithful wife, as one that truly loved you and yours; and remember these little ones: be kind to them for my sake, and for their own sakes, who, I hope, will never offend you, nor be undutiful to you. This is my last request, and I hope will be granted by you.

Wh. These are piercing words, and enough, if it could be, to make me alter my resolution; but it is too late, and God is all-sufficient: I doubt not but He will preserve me in my journey, and bring me back again in safety to a joyful and comfortable meeting with thee and all my children.

Wife. The Lord, if it be His blessed will, grant us this mercy, who is indeed all-sufficient and abounding in goodness, but we deserve it not; and it must be more than ordinary mercy if we ever see the faces of each other again.

With that word, floods of tears stopped her further speaking; and the company called upon Whitelocke to hasten away, telling him the wind and tide would stay for no man, but would be lost if he did not speedily come away; that all was ready, and they now only staid for him: he was therefore forced to break away.

He went to the Tower wharf, where the state-barges attend him, multitudes of people crowding about him; he enters the barge of ten oars; with

Embarks at
the Tower;

him were Major-General Reynolds, and some other officers of the army, his brothers-in-law, his sons, and some of his gentlemen; the rest were in four other barges provided for them.

When he put off from shore the Tower saluted him with eleven pieces of ordnance; as he passed by the ships of war in the river, they gave him the like respect of their great guns; so did the fort at the Hope.

He went directly to the Phoenix frigate riding in that road, whose captain, Foster, received him with as much honour as he could express; his pennons all hung out, his waste-clothes to the cabin-door, and he fired twenty-one guns for his welcome; his men were in good order, and seemed stout and able mariners; the captain and officers not inferior to any of the sea-commanders; the ship as well built and fitted for sailing and fight as any in the fleet: here were fourteen cabins for his company, of whom he left some in her to prepare against his return to them.

From thence he visited the Elizabeth frigate, whose captain, Minnes, welcomed him with his guns and all ensigns of respect, as Foster did, and set out thirteen cabins for his gentlemen: here also Whitelocke left some of his company; and in his return to Gravesend, the mariners of the 'Elizabeth' gave a great shout, and were answered by those of the 'Phoenix,' to testify their being pleased with the Ambassador's being on board of them, and with the voyage.

In his way, the men-of-war saluted him with their guns, and particularly and unexpectedly a Holland frigate, which lately brought over their ambassador, and now wore her white flag: though both Com-

monwealths were now in actual war, yet she saluted Whitelocke with three guns as he passed by her.

Berkman met him at Gravesend, so did most of his company, where he caused the best provisions that could be had to be made for them; himself lay at a private house, Mr. Woodcoke's, who civilly treated him.

November 4, 1653.

Two of Whitelocke's ships not being yet fallen down, after he had given out his orders for all things to be ready, he returned back to London, and had a dark and dangerous passage, but God preserved him. He came about eight o'clock at night to his brother Wilson's house, to see his sad wife once more, and to comfort her, who was much surprised and pleased with his unexpected coming and kindness to stay with her rather than at Gravesend, till the wind should be fair and all his ships be ready.

but returns
secretly
from
Gravesend;

He kept his return as private as he could, that the Council might not have notice of it; yet now he met with objections from some, that he ought not to leave his country and relations to go into the northern parts of Europe in the midst of winter; to put to sea in the midst of storms and enemies; to forsake these dearest relations and fixed comforts; to pass over the raging billows of the rough northern and eastern seas; to transport his aged sickly body eight degrees to the northward of the place of his birth and habitation, about affairs made up of difficulty and uncertainty.

But most of these objections had been more seasonably made and answered formerly; he was now

engaged, and told by no mean persons that the peace with the Dutch, the safety of the Commonwealth, the good of the Protestant interest, depend upon his going.

Cromwell, who commands in chief, earnestly entreats (that is, requires) his speedy departure; the Council urge it, and allege that the public interest and affairs will not dispense with his longer stay; he had taken possession of his ships, made all his preparations and provisions, and now to object against his going was somewhat too late: yet this short time of his present stay he enjoys the best of society with his wife and children and nearest of his friends and relations.

His wife was now in less passion than before, hoping that God would be pleased to make her husband instrumental to advance His honour, for which she and his friends put up their hearty and constant prayers to the Almighty; and then they acknowledged that they should rejoice in his journey, and not doubt but that God would restore him to all these relations and comforts, with the addition of the fulfilling his gracious promises to those that desire to serve him.

November 5, 1653.

Whitelocke heard that the 'Fortune' was fallen down, and now the wind was come fair for his voyage, therefore he must again leave his dear wife and relations; and although she restrained her passion as much as possibly she could, yet no creature ever showed a more perplexed, grieved condition than she did at parting with him, when some of their discourse was this:—

and takes
his final
departure.

Wife. I have one thing more earnestly to beg of you, which is, that you would make it your chiefest care to honour God in all your actions, and to watch over yourself and all your company that none of you dishonour him; and often pray to Him for His blessing upon you and them, and on us whom you leave behind, which will be the best way to enlarge our hopes of a happy meeting again, which I shall daily pray for.

Whitelocke. I look upon this as my duty, and thank you for putting me in mind of it. I hope I shall not be wanting in my prayers to God, for His protection and blessing both on you that stay and on us that travel; and that He will not give us over to dishonour Him, which I shall be most careful to prevent, both in myself and in every one of my company; and I presume you are assured, that, had it not been the hopes of doing some honour to the name of God by this my undertaking and hazard, I should scarce have been persuaded to have undergone it.

Wife. I know and am glad that this was the chief motive that persuaded you to it, and which prevailed with me for giving such consent as I did thereunto; and by this we both may have the more peace and satisfaction in our own hearts, and the more hopes of the blessing of God upon it. I shall speak but this more, and I pray God that it be not my last word to you, that for my sake, and for our poor children's sake, you would have a special care of your own health, and not to hazard your person in any danger.

Wh. My own conscience and duty to you and my children, and to my business, engageth me to this care; and I shall promise thee to take special care of

my health, and not to hazard my person unnecessarily; and I pray God to keep you and all our children, and to bless you, and to give us in His due time a meeting again with comfort and safety.

Wife. The Lord grant it, if it be His blessed will, and go along with you in all your way.

Then tears again concluded their discourse; her sighing, weeping, trembling, shrieking, were testimonies of her sad troubled mind; nor was her husband without his share of much anxiety: but they must part.

In his passage by water, his secretary, Earle, only attended him; he overtook the 'Fortune,' and himself gave her charge to hasten to the Hope, which she did accordingly.

He came to Gravesend about three o'clock in the afternoon, and finding his horses not shipped, though it were so late, and the master of the 'Adventure' not willing to take the horses on board that night, yet because the wind was fair and not high, Whitelocke ordered all his horses to be shipped that evening, which he saw done, above thirty horses hoisted on board in less than four hours' time, though most of them were very unquiet; the gentleman of his horse took great pains and care in the doing of it.

November 6, 1653.

The squadron under
White-
locke's
command.

The Lord's Day.—The wind was fair, and all things ready, and no opportunity must be lost; therefore, about two hours before high water, Whitelocke ordered all his people to go on board; a light horseman, and some with him in the ship boat: they went

directly to the Hope, where the ships attending his coming were:—

1. The Phoenix frigate, a man-of-war, carrying forty-four guns, one of the best ships for sailing and for fighting in Europe; in her were two hundred seamen, well chosen and well commanded; in her went Whitelocke and his sons, his chaplains, Dr. Whistler, and most of the gentlemen and the women.

2. The Elizabeth frigate, with forty guns, store of ammunition, two hundred mariners; and in her went more of the gentlemen.

3. The Adventure, a merchantman, hired and fitted as a stable for Whitelocke's horses, which were in her, with provisions for them; the yeoman of the stable, the coachmen, postilions, grooms, lacqueys, and others, were on board of her.

4. The Fortune, a merchantman, hired; she carried the baggage and provisions; and in her went his steward and some gentlemen, those of the kitchen, buttery, and other inferior servants.

5. A stout private man-of-war, commanded by Captain Welch, a bold fighting seaman; he had eighty men of his own temper, about ten great guns, and sufficient store of small shot, and of arms and weapons on board her.

6. A catch of the State's, appointed to wait on Whitelocke, and to be in readiness to carry intelligence, or do other service as he should command her.

As soon as Whitelocke came on board the Phoenix, he desired Captain Foster to send for the captains and officers of the other ships to come on board him; and they being come, Whitelocke spake to them on the decks to this effect.

Whitelocke
harangues
the captains
and officers
of the
squadron.

“ Gentlemen,

“It hath pleased God to bring us together at this time, in order to a voyage to the North ; and the Council of State have thought fit to entrust me with the command of these ships, and consequently of you and your men under you, as I suppose you understand by the orders of your generals at sea ; and I take the liberty to tell you, that I expect the same obedience to my orders as if your generals gave them ; but withal, I shall let you know that my commands will not be rigid or supercilious, but with love and kindness, as to my countrymen, friends, and fellow-seamen.

“ I confess my want of knowledge in sea affairs, yet this is not my first voyage ; and I shall be glad to have my lack of experience supplied by yours, and be willing to be informed by the meanest mariner ; and shall give a due regard to the advice of you who are the officers, and of so much ability and experience as you are, and whose reason may satisfy mine in our debates and counsels.

“ Our voyage, my noble countrymen, is not like to be without dangers ; I hope your spirits will be the more raised : the perils of this season, of storms and tempests, are no strangers to you ; no more are those of our enemies, the Dutch and Danes, whom you have met with before this time, and were wont to wish to see them. I assure myself they are now more desired than feared by you.

“ I shall freely adventure my life with you ; and if we look up to God, pray for His protection and blessing, and trust in Him, willing cheerfully to serve our country, we shall have no cause to fear our enemies, or to doubt but that God will go along with us, and bless us in our way ; and bring us back again in safety to our native country and relations.

“ I shall from time to time acquaint you with my orders by Captain Foster, from whom I pray you to receive them, and to observe them ; and so, my countrymen, God send us a good voyage.”

The seamen cast up their caps and shouted, and seemed well pleased.

Then Whitelocke led the officers into his cabin, and advised with them as a council of war about the voyage ; and the wind being then fair, west and by north, they agreed that it was fit to weigh anchor and to set sail presently : and Whitelocke ordered the same to be done accordingly. ^{They weigh anchor.}

Upon advice, he likewise ordered the 'Phoenix' to carry her flag in the maintop, after the order of the sea, Whitelocke being on board her, an Ambassador Extraordinary, and Commander-in-Chief of the ships with him.

He also ordered their sailing to be in this manner : ^{Order of sailing.} the 'Phoenix' to be in the van, the 'Adventure' and 'Fortune' after her, the 'Elizabeth' in the rear, Captain Welch on one flank, and the catch on the other, to scout out and discover enemies ; and they and the 'Elizabeth' to keep in the merchantmen (who were slow sailers, and apt to lag) within their company.

Other orders he gave about their firing, anchoring, weighing, sailing, and the like ; that the 'Phoenix' should carry the lantern ; that every morning each ship should come up to Whitelocke, that he might be informed of their condition, and then to fall into their order again ; and he appointed his Captain Foster to receive all orders from Whitelocke, and to give them to the rest of the officers of the fleet.

He ordered prayers to be constantly twice a day, morning and evening, upon the decks in fair weather, other times in the steerage-room. He ordered none to take tobacco but behind the mainmast, where a tub of water was set to blow their coals into it, and

to prevent the danger of fire; divers other orders he made for regulating the seamen and his company.

The wind being fair and a fresh gale, and all the ships having weighed anchor, they hoisted sail and committed themselves to the protection of Him who commands the waves, and affords His preservation there as well as on dry land to them that trust in him.

By the evening they had sailed as far as the buoy in the Nore, in the Thames mouth, which is placed there to give warning to ships to avoid the Nore sands; and is of late the more taken notice of, by that sharp sea-fight between the English and Dutch in this place, where the gallant sea-commander, Deane, with many other brave Englishmen, lost their lives in defence of their country. It is in the sight of Queenborough Castle, in the Isle of Sheppey, so-called from the abundance of sheep fed there. The castle was built by Edward III.,—as he writes in his patent, “to the terror of his enemies, and solace of his friends;” unto which castle he adjoined a town or borough, and in honour of his queen called it Queenborough.

After the evening sermon, the wind, which had been very fair all that day, chopped about to the north, and was quite contrary to his course; so that Whitelocke caused them there to let fall their anchors.

November 7, 1653.

Birth of a
son to
Whitelocke.

At the buoy in the Nore God was pleased to command Whitelocke's stay, to make him partaker of a greater mercy, the earlier notice of his wife's being brought to bed, who, the same day that her husband

set sail to go from her, was delivered of a son : a hard time to be hurried away from her !

Her friends, with her, presently procured two bold watermen to undertake to carry letters of this good news to Whitelocke, hoping to overtake him ; they rowed all night by the shore side, till they came over against the ships ; but by reason of the largeness and roughness of the water, could not come to them with their wherry ; therefore the watermen made fires on the shore, the custom of giving notice that an express was come : the mariners, used to such fires, sent out a boat, and fetched the watermen on board the Phoenix. Some of the gentlemen, hearing the good news, knocked hastily at Whitelocke's cabin-door, caused him to awake with some doubt, lest anything might be amiss, and, again, with a hope that an express might be come to stay his voyage for a time, that he might see his wife and friends again by this opportunity. But the letters were from his brother Wilson and Mr. Cokaine ; and in them the good news of his wife's safe delivery of a son did exceedingly comfort him, and caused him to consider and thankfully acknowledge the circumstances of this mercy and providence :—

1. That God was not pleased to permit him to be with his wife when she was in extremity, which was so much desired ; and yet was pleased to give her a safe delivery, to show that God is better than all relations, and only to be depended on, as a ready help in time of trouble.

2. As his letters informed that his wife was brought to bed the very hour when the congregation of which she was a member were in prayer together for her

safe delivery, and then this gracious return of their prayers was vouchsafed.

3. That God was pleased to cause the wind suddenly to change, whereby Whitelocke was enforced to stay his course that night, otherwise he had gone too far for the watermen to have come at him with the letters.

4. That if he had not been stayed here, and by that means received these letters now, he could not, in ordinary course, have heard the news in a month after ; but by this stay, this comfortable news was received by them, and it made their voyage much the more cheerful.

5. That as soon as Whitelocke had written answers to these letters, and despatched and rewarded the watermen, the wind instantly came about again very fair to proceed in his voyage.

Whereupon Whitelocke commanded to fire a gun for warning to weigh anchor, which was done by day-break ; and the wind continuing fair, Whitelocke had a good course, and ran this day about twenty-five leagues, so that they bid adieu to the coast of England, their most dear and native country.

November 8, 1653.

The Ambassador at sea.

In the night, the frigates were fain to tow the baggage-ships, whose slow sailing much hindered the voyage. The wind blew high, and the night was very tempestuous ; yet Whitelocke slept soundly till about midnight. By the breaking in sunder of the great cable by which his ship towed the 'Adventure,' so terrible a crack and noise was made, that it awa-

kened all that were asleep with affrightment, and endangered the ship.

She carried two lanterns for better direction of the rest of the ships, who rolled and tossed very much all night, and were in great danger. The 'Fortune' proved very slow and troublesome; the 'Elizabeth' at this time was not well fitted nor fleet in sailing. Whitelocke staid for them, lowering his sails, and judged it no time for his ships to sever, near an enemy's coast, and in the midst of storms, but ordered all to keep near together, and be in readiness to relieve one another; and notwithstanding the hindrances and foul weather, they ran a course this night of about thirty leagues.

By sunrising they espied some sails afar off, on head of them. Whitelocke spread all his sails to fetch them up; the 'Phoenix' ran with an incredible fleetness. The strange ships made away from him; Whitelocke pursued, and when he came within distance, fired the chase pieces at them to warn them to strike sail. One struck, and came to leeward of Whitelocke; and the wind driving him to stern, whilst Whitelocke's boat was hoisting out to fetch the Dutch skipper on board to him, the Dutchman seeing his advantage, the wind for him, and Whitelocke's men busy, he hoisted all his sails and got clear away from Whitelocke: at which affront Captain Foster was very angry, and prayed leave to chase the Dutchman again. Whitelocke gave way to fire some guns after him, but to little purpose, he being got so far away; and before Whitelocke could tack about to pursue him, he would be gone too far to be overtaken without too much hindrance of his course: so Whitelocke wished his cap-

Chase and
capture of
a Dutch
skipper,

tain to be patient, and bear this small affront which he could not help, and to let the Dutchman go for his ingenuity, but to prevent being served so again.

The other Dutch ship made away as fast as she could, but Whitelocke overtook her and made several shots at her, yet she would not strike sail till Whitelocke shot through her tackle; seeing which torn, and that Whitelocke was in earnest, the Dutchman came to leeward and struck; and Whitelocke's lieutenant fetched the Dutch skipper on board to Whitelocke, in his cabin, who there examined him; divers of the gentlemen and mariners crowding in to hear it, whereof this was part:—

Whitelocke. Skipper, whence art thou?

Skipper. A Flushingier.

Wh. What brought you to sea this weather?

Sk. My trade; though the weather be foul, we must fish, or our wives and children must starve.

Wh. Hast thou a wife and children?

Sk. I hope I have a wife and seven children.

Wh. What right have you to fish in these seas?

Sk. I thought any one might fish in the broad sea.

Wh. Not without leave of those who have the dominion of those seas.

Sk. I know not who have the dominion of the sea, but they that have the best fleet. I have been thirty years a fisherman, and never yet asked leave.

Wh. Indeed, a good fleet is the best argument for the dominion of the seas; but though you never asked leave to fish on the seas of our Commonwealth, your predecessors have asked leave to fish here.

Sk. My father and grandfather were fishers on these seas, but I never heard them say they asked leave.

Wh. It may be so, but others have.

Sk. I must not contradict you.

Wh. Thou mayest freely speak to me.

Sk. No, I thank you; I know to whom I speak.

Wh. Dost thou know me?

Sk. I think you are the English Ambassador for Sweden.

Wh. Why dost thou think so?

Sk. Because you carry your flag in the maintop, and some of your men told me so.

Wh. What do they say in your country of my going to Sweden?

Sk. Our lords don't like it; but their subjects think you do wisely to get the Swedes for friends.

Wh. We must seek new friends when our old ones forsake us and make war upon us, as your lords do.

Sk. We poor men give our lords no thanks for it; I am sure we are sufferers by it.

Wh. Why then is it continued?

Sk. Because it is the pleasure of our lords; but they are sufficiently cursed for it.

Wh. God says you must not speak evil of your rulers.

Sk. And God says our rulers must not do evil.

Wh. God will punish them if they do evil.

Sk. And man will punish them also: I am sure you have done it.

Wh. And what did you when you revolted from your king?

Sk. These things are too high for me; I will not speak of them.

Wh. What do your people say of the English Ambassador? tell me truly.

Sk. They say he is a very honest gentleman, and a fit man for such a business, and one that loves peace, and is likely to do his work.

Wh. Now I see you know to whom you speak.

Sk. I should say the same behind your back, for I have often heard it said by others.

Wh. It seems then that your people are not pleased with the war against England.

Sk. They are much displeased at it, and their losses by it are very great, and our trade decays ; so that it will be the wisest way for our lords to make a peace with you : if they do not, few will fight for them, in their ships, in this quarrel.

Wh. Hast thou served them in this war ?

Sk. I never fought against the English in this war, nor never will ; and more are of my mind.

Wh. Thou sayest honestly, and shalt fare the better.

Sk. We are neighbours, and both are now commonwealths, and we should stick close to one another.

Wh. And we both profess one religion, do we not ?

Sk. There is much talk of your different religions in England.

Wh. You have as many different religions in Amsterdam.

Sk. As long as they will be quiet, I know no reason but every one may worship God as he thinks best for his own soul.

Wh. I think thou art very right ; and your country hath prospered the better for giving this liberty.

Sk. I think God blesses them for it ; and I think a peace with England would please God better than this shedding of Christian blood.

W^h. Dost not thou say this to please me, or be thy neighbours of this opinion as thou art?

S^k. I speak it not to please you ; and ten for one are of my opinion.

W^h. My masters have not been backward for a peace with you.

S^k. Our lords understand not the business so well as you.

W^h. Your lords are wise enough.

S^k. I am sure they are not wise in having this war with England.

W^h. What men-of-war have you abroad this way? tell me freely.

S^k. Our men-of-war have suffered a huge loss by the other day's storm, which I believe you felt ; five of our ships were then cast away upon our own shore.

W^h. That was a great loss ; but prithee tell me what convoys you have abroad this way?

S^k. Three or four of our men-of-war lie not far off, which were sent out to guard us, and you see how well they do it.

W^h. Why do they not keep nearer to you?

S^k. They have no great mind to come near you, where they know they can get nothing but blows.

W^h. But their duty and honour bind them to guard you.

S^k. Honour will buy no butter ; and they hold it no duty of theirs to hazard themselves and their ships against you.

W^h. They cannot tell whether we will fight or not, till they try us.

S^k. They know your frigates can fight ; and you do not look as if you would run away.

Wh. Dost thou know by our looks that we will fight?

Sk. One may guess ; I am sure you know how to handle your guns : I have felt that.

Wh. Why then did you not come in sooner to me, but stood out so many shots?

Sk. Because I hoped to have got away from you ; and my ship was never before out-sailed.

Wh. Then you judge my ship to be fleet?

Sk. She is the fleetest that I ever saw under sail. Oh, she is a gallant vessel ! So is your other frigate, and the rest are good ships.

Wh. I see you like well the make of our English frigates.

Sk. For the business of the war they are, without doubt, of the rarest mould that ever was built before.

Wh. I know they are not so good for your use of merchandise.

Sk. We must have them somewhat bigger bellies than they carry.

Wh. Else they will carry but a small quantity of goods.

Sk. I have few goods left me to carry, God help me !

Wh. Well, Skipper, thou seemest to be an honest man, and to love the English, and thou sayest thou hast a wife and seven children ; therefore I shall do more for thee than thou expectest : thou shalt have thy ship again.

Sk. What did you say, Sir ? shall I have my ship again ?

Wh. Yes, Skipper, thou shalt have thy ship again. Captain Foster, give order that the ship be restored to the poor man.

Sk. Sir, your men took a world of goods when they boarded me ; if I might have them too.

Wh. Skipper, thou shalt have them too. Captain, I pray see that your men restore both ship and goods, whatsoever they have taken from this poor man.

Capt. Your Excellency's command shall be obeyed.

Sk. Shall I have my ship and all my goods again too ?

Wh. I have passed my word ; and thou shalt have them all again, thou mayest be sure of it.

Sk. Now the Lord bless thy Excellency ! I and my wife and children will pray for thee as long as we live. What ! have all again, when I expected not a penny-worth of them ! There was never such an ambassador upon these seas. Now I pray God bless thee, and bless thy wife and children, and bless the business thou goest about !

Then the poor skipper, who was before in a great sweat and fright, and tears trickling down his cheeks, reaching over the table, took Whitelocke-by the hand and shook it heartily, often praying to God to bless him and his. Whitelocke, calling for wine, drank to the poor man to comfort him, and spake to him thus.

Wh. Skipper, when thou comest home, remember my service to your lords, and tell them what I say, that I bid you tell them that the English Ambassador came not to pillage their subjects, but showed kindness to you, and caused your ship and all your goods to be restored again to you, though he took them lawful prize, and you resisted him ; and tell your lords from me, that I hope they and their people will use my countrymen, when any of them shall fall into their hands, as kindly as I have used thee ; and that I do

heartily wish there may be a good peace between the two commonwealths.

Sz. My Lord, if it please God I live and come well home again, as I hope in God I shall, I will go to the lords and deliver your message to them, and let them fully know your goodness to me ; and I shall acquaint good store of my neighbours with your noble carriage towards me. And I pray to God with all my heart to bless you, and to give you a safe and happy voyage.

The skipper went away a joyful man, and had his ship and all his goods to a pennyworth restored to him, which he said he wondered at, they having been, as he called it, in hucksters' hands ; and in token of his thankfulness, he sent back by Whitelocke's men a Holland cheese and a great bottle of brandy-wine for a present to Whitelocke. But he believing the poor man to have more need of it than himself, who was no lover either of that meat or drink, Whitelocke sent them back again, with his hearty thanks to the skipper for his love ; who—as Whitelocke was afterwards informed—did sufficiently publish the kindness of the English Ambassador to him, and that to as many of the lords as he could speak with, as well as to his neighbours and countrymen ; so that Monsieur Lagerfeldt passing that way by land homewards, was informed of it for news, and asked Whitelocke, when they met, about it.

This was done by Whitelocke upon design to create the better opinion of him and his superiors, and the more averseness to the war in the inferior sort of people of that country, and to amuse the lords the more by this action upon his going for Sweden ; and the passages are the more particularly remembered for

the variety, and to show the subtlety of these kind of people; and that even from them, as from all sorts of men, somewhat as to these public affairs may be learned, and use made thereof.

Most of Whitelocke's men were very sea-sick, only himself and three or four more held well; the catch was lost, or ran home for fear of the weather. The wind came into the north-east, so that Whitelocke could make no way in his course, but was forced to steer back towards the coast of England.

A great Dutch ship,—as they supposed, a man-of-war,—hovered within sight of Whitelocke this day; but when Whitelocke came towards her, she made away from him, and would by no means come nearer to him, having got the advantage by the wind and distance to keep off from him.

November 9, 1653.

All the last night the sea continued extreme rough, and the weather full of rain and storms, so that the ships, especially the merchantmen, were in great danger of being foundered in the sea. Rough weather.

The wind continued flat and high against Whitelocke's course; who thereupon in the morning consulted with the captain, master, and pilots of his ship what was best for them to do.

The officers were all of the opinion that there was great danger of their being driven upon the coast of Holland, where so lately they lost some of their own men-of-war, when the storms were much like those wherein Whitelocke now was, and the wind in the same quarter. They were also of opinion, that the

merchantmen of his fleet were in extreme danger to be lost in these great storms, and that, as the wind sat, it was impossible to hold on their course for Gothenburg. Upon these reasons, and by the advice of the officers, and many of Whitelocke's people being extreme sick, he ordered to direct their course to Yarmouth, or some port thereabouts in England, that if possible they might reach sight of the English coast before night, which they endeavoured till about noon; then the wind veered about to west-south-west, whereupon they stood on again in their course for Gothenburg.

Divers strange fishes showed themselves playing and tumbling in the waters; the fowl flew about disturbed with the storms; the firmament poured down water, and thick clouds darkened it. A great number of fishermen were abroad, very industrious, and gaining out of these seas a vast commodity and profit by their fishing.

The Dutch
herring-
fishery.

They have small territories, little land of their own; yet, by their industry and navigation in trade, and fishing, they gain vast treasures. Camden, writing thereof, notes what an extraordinary plentiful and gainful herring-fishing the Hollanders and Zealanders use to have in the neighbouring sea, having first obtained leave from the Castle of Scarborough, according to the ancient custom. Then he blames his countrymen (not undeservedly) who ever grant leave to fish, but through a kind of negligence resigning the profit to strangers; for it is almost incredible, said he, what a vast sum of money the Hollanders make by fishing on our coasts.

Hitchcock, in his book presented to the Parliament

in Queen Elizabeth's days, writes that the Hollanders and Zealanders every year send forth four or five hundred vessels, called busses, to fish for herrings in this eastern sea.

Sir John Borroughs, in his treatise of the sovereignty of the British seas, computes the number of their ships and vessels employed about the fishing-trade to be 6400 ; their mariners and fishermen he reckons to the number of 168,000 ; their public revenue out of fishing he accounts to near a million yearly ; and the private wealth gained by it he estimates yearly to 10,000,000 of our pounds sterling, out of their trade of fishing in our seas.

Whether his calculation be exact or not will not be necessary to cast up. Doubtless the profit of this fishing-trade, gained by these Netherlanders on the British seas, is very huge and vast ; and it may not improperly be said of them, as is prophesied of the tribes of Zebulun and Issachar, in the blessing pronounced by Moses upon them, Deuteronomy xxxiii. 19, " They shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sands."

These storms drove the fishermen home again ; nor would Whitelocke look after them, nor neglect his course to follow them, but took the best care he could for defence of himself, being now in the midst of enemies, who would neglect no opportunity they could meet with to destroy him.

All this day stood aloof from him a great ship, making all the sail she could to the windward of him, and (as Whitelocke's men supposed) she had other companions of the Dutch convoys not far off from her, as they could discover by the perspective she

was the same ship they saw yesterday; but neither then nor now, in the daytime, would come near to Whitelocke, and he would not permit his ships to go out of their due course to follow this Dutchman, who still kept the advantage of being to windward of Whitelocke, and so lay off still from him.

Whitelocke doubting lest the design of the Dutch men-of-war, now abroad for convoys (whereof he supposed this great ship to be one), might be in the night-time to intercept one of his baggage-ships, he renewed his orders, that the 'Adventure' and 'Fortune' should sail in the lee or stern of the 'Phoenix,' and the 'Elizabeth' and Captain Welch to keep in the stern of the baggage-ships, to be close together to relieve and assist one another as there should be occasion.

In this order they sailed in their course; but the wind coming about more to the north, and being in the evening due west and west-north-west, they had but bare wind enough to hold on their course, but they could not gain or advance much way in it.

November 10, 1653.

Whitelocke
resolves to
keep com-
pany with
the
ships.

The wind continued all night full against Whitelocke's course, so that they toiled all the dark night in the rough seas and contrary winds, the ships rolling and tossing very much, and were in great danger; yet could they not gain any way at all in their intended course.

Towards break of day the wind slackened; all the ships were near together, but advanced little or nothing in their course; the Dutch man-of-war was got

quite off from them. The wind in twelve hours came about into almost all the points of the compass; it continued most of all against them. But the day proved very fair, more like the season of May than of November, and so little wind stirring that the ships made no way at all, and the seas were as calm as at any time in summer, wherewith the sick men were a little refreshed, but paid for it again afterwards. Whitelocke in person visited and cheered the sick men, and saw that they should want nothing wherewith the ship could supply them; and he caused his other ships to come up to him, that he might inquire of their welfare, and spake to them particularly and cheerfully upon the decks.

At high noon they took the elevation, and found that they were in the degree 54 and odd minutes, by which observation they were come but a third part of their voyage in six days; Gothenburg being in the degree 57 and odd minutes, and London in the degree 52.

Having thus traversed up and down the wide and rough seas, about four o'clock this afternoon the wind came to the south-east, and blew a fresh gale fair for their course: and here it was propounded to Whitelocke, and chiefly urged by the gentlemen who were sick, that Whitelocke, with the 'Phoenix,' would make all the sail he could to fetch his port, and leave the 'Elizabeth' and Welch to stay for and bring up the other ships after him.

The grounds of their advice were: "For that the present wind was so fair and large, that it was pity and might prove dangerous to lose it by staying for the other ships; that his ship was so fleet, that with

this wind in a short time she would recover Gothenburg; whereas, if she staid for the rest, the wind might change, and Whitelocke perhaps be kept a long time in dangerous and tempestuous weather, as they had been already, from their desired port, which in such weather and season they were not to neglect the attaining of it."

Whitelocke answered them, "That if he should do as they counselled, that yet no advantage would be thereby gained in their course; because, if the wind should hold where it was, yet they could not reach but to the Riff against the Skaw by the next night, where they must lie still at anchor, for the danger of sailing near to that coast; and by the morning after, the whole fleet together might come up to the same place, and in one day after, wind and weather favouring, might get from the Riff to Gothenburg: besides this, Whitelocke told them he could not answer the leaving any of his ships behind, being all under his charge, and among enemies; and in case of mischief to any of them, he might be questioned for leaving them. Chiefly he insisted on the point of honour, not to forsake any of his ships, and leave them to the mercy of storms and enemies, and not being with them to relieve them, especially when he knew that there were enemies abroad; but he was resolved to run the same hazard with them."

Captain Foster and the officers of his ship were of the same judgement, because it might extremely hazard the *Fortune* and *Adventure*, being so near the enemy's coast, and they might founder in a storm for want of help; and the *Elizabeth* would be in great danger in regard of the storms and of our enemies,

who watched for an opportunity to fall upon them, and perchance they might be forced back to England; but Whitelocke would not endure the reflection and dishonour of such an action.

Upon this resolution of Whitelocke's, his fleet went on in their course all together in their usual order; and from four o'clock in the afternoon till eight at night, the wind blew large and fair, and they ran in that watch about six leagues, and began to come somewhat near to the Continent, towards the coast of Denmark.

November 11, 1653.

From eight o'clock till twelve the last night, White-^{Fair weather.}locke's fleet could not make above four leagues in their course, the wind in that time coming about more than it was into the north and east; and after twelve o'clock at night it was full against them, so that they could gain very little or nothing in their course.

In the morning the sun rose very gloriously, and it was a fair day and even sea, more like a day in June than in November, and so little wind stirring that they could hardly make any way at all. When the sun was full south they took their observation of the latitude; and by the seamen's instruments they found that, from yesterday at noon till this time, they had not run above sixteen leagues.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the wind blew more fresh, but from north-east, full against them; yet they kept on labouring in the high sea, and traversing up and down, to and again, as much as they could, to the northward; which was but very little.

In the evening, before the setting of the watch, was

A mariner
expounds
the Scrip-
tures.

the usual time of prayer in Whitelocke's ships; and both his chaplains having been sick the three last days, one Percall, a kind of master's mate, in his mariner's habit, an elderly man, prayed before Whitelocke and his company, as he had done the three last days, very well and honestly, much beyond expectation, God having bestowed on him extraordinary gifts in praying and expounding the Scripture; and it were pity, especially at such a time and place, that they should be hid and not exercised. Though the man might want a cassock and silk girdle, the modesty, sobriety, meekness, good sense, and pious words of the man made Whitelocke very willing at this time to join with this mariner's prayers.

In the evening the other ships came up to Whitelocke, who inquired of them how they all did; they lamentably complained of extreme sea-sickness, and dangers of the storms they had been in; but Whitelocke was cheerful with them, and encouraged them the best he could.

He sent his boat to visit the 'Adventure,' and bring his steward on board to him, who gave Whitelocke an account of their desperate sea-sickness and frights with the tempestuous weather, and strange tossing and rolling of the 'Fortune;' but Whitelocke drolled with them, and sent his steward encouraged back to his company, being glad they were all in safety.

He visited particularly the sick men in his ship, and commanded that they should want nothing; and his kindness to them, and his familiarity and freedom with the seamen, was well taken both by landsmen and mariners.

Captain Welch came up to Whitelocke, and saluted

him with some guns, and sent him a present of some pots of conserves, bottles of English small-beer, and a Swedish cheese. Whitelocke, as he used, did droll with him, and returned thanks himself, and by his guns.

This fair day brought divers fishermen abroad ; and when Whitelocke came by any of them they struck sail, but he would not go out of his course to them, nor trouble them.

November 12, 1653.

About nine o'clock the last night, the wind came Fair wind. about to the south-west, and within an hour it grew extreme high and rough, but fair for their course all that night, so that they ran this night about sixteen leagues, though the 'Phoenix' had only her foretopsail half-spread, because of staying for the other ships ; but if she had made all her sails, probably she might have reached Gothenburg by the next night, she being able, by the seamen's confession, with that wind to have sailed fifteen or sixteen leagues a watch, which is four hours.

In the morning early, it was again proposed for Whitelocke to take the advantage of the wind, and to make all the way he could to get to Gothenburg ; but himself, his captain, and officers were against it, upon the reasons before-mentioned ; and Whitelocke was resolved not to leave any of his ships in danger, but to run the same fortune and hazards with them.

He was forced to go a slow pace, to stay for his baggage-ships, to the great regret of his sick people. Toward noon the wind came about more to the north-

west ; yet so as he kept on his course, though he gained not much way. The wind was so violently high, and those northern seas so exceeding rough and breaking, that much water came into the ships, and they had much to do to work it out at sea.

In the evening the 'Adventure' came by Whitelocke to give him an account of her company ; she sailed ahead of Whitelocke, and did not return to her place again. More Hollanders were fishing upon these seas, but they saw no English fishermen abroad.

November 13, 1653.

Off the
Riff.

About twelve o'clock the last night the wind began to fall, and blew so little that they could hardly make any way in their course. Early in the morning the 'Adventure' was missed, by getting some two leagues to the leeward of Whitelocke, who soon sought her out, and reproved her master for his indiscreet going before the last night ; and this was also some hindrance in looking after her.

About eight in the morning, by sounding, they found themselves in great danger ; Whitelocke's ship was within half a fathom of the sand, and made foul water by striking as she passed over the Riff, which is a long bank of sand, coming from the head of Jutland in Denmark into the main sea. And here again the Lord was pleased to preserve Whitelocke and his company from immediate dangers of the sands, and of the very high and rough northern seas, which frightened many of his men ; but he encouraged them the best he could.

The wind being fallen, yet he kept on his course,

though but slowly, and was hindered by the distance of the other ships from him; and the 'Adventure,' keeping ahead of Whitelocke, and carrying the lantern contrary to orders and the custom of the sea, was by Whitelocke reprehended for it. The 'Phoenix,' which was most in danger of the sands and enemies, ran only with part of her maintopsail spread, and no more, to the end the other ships might come in to her, and keep with her, and to avoid coming upon the Danish coast of Jutland, which is very dangerous, especially in the night-time; yet here they maintain lights for the direction of ships. Whitelocke did forbear to acquaint his people, that about this place the last year, a gallant English frigate was cast away, and her men lost.

This being the Lord's Day, Mr. De la Marche preached in the forenoon, very well, and the seamen were attentive to him. There were but two of Whitelocke's company present at the sermon, the rest being sick in their cabins. In the afternoon Mr. Percall, one of the ship's company, and in his mariner's habit, preached a very honest and good sermon, and much beyond what might be expected from him. The wind continued low till about noon, and then came into west-south-west; towards evening it increased to a fresh gale, and about seven o'clock it blew hard. Whitelocke kept on his course, though much hindered by the heaviness of the other ships; and in all this way in constant great danger of the sands, his pilots having brought him too far upon the Riff, from which, through the goodness of God, they got off well again.

November 14, 1653.

A rough
night.

About midnight the 'Phoenix' furled her sails and went adrift, not willing to adventure any further in her course this dark night, for fear of the coast. The sea grew very raging, with sharp storms, the wind exceeding high, and much rain. The ships being on drift rolled much more than at other times, sufficiently affrighting some of the company, who solemnly repented that they had left good colleges, and kind mothers and friends, full and wholesome diet, and safety on firm land, to come to stinking water, salt and bad meat boiled in it, such as they could not eat; from good beds and warm chambers, to cold close cabins, and to be dashed all over with water; for security on shore, to be lost in the deep sea.

When the ship lay low with the storm on one side, they counselled to remove all the trunks to the other side to keep her even. They suspected that the seamen, being under the decks, had deserted their work, and given over the ship for lost, and no hopes of her.

One more especially thus lamentably complained, and that the ship was never quiet, but continually rolling and tossing up and down; that the steersman would not or could not keep her upright, nor her mariners remove one trunk to keep her even; that they had not a drop of any water but stank; and at their meals, with sorry diet, the meat was often thrown off from the table into their laps; that they were wet over their boots; and the seas were so rude and boisterous, that they had not a moment wherein they did not expect to be devoured by the waves. And it was

comfort to this gentleman that his master was in no better condition; but it was much mirth to his master and the rest of his company, in their great perils, and is here inserted for diversion sake.

The captain of the 'Phoenix' was up all night, being full of care and vigilance to do his duty. Whitelocke himself was ill of his supper of eggs, which is bad diet at sea; he rose about three o'clock in the morning, and afterwards slept soundly on the boards.

Hoping that they were near the coast, Whitelocke Land seen. promised a bottle of sack to the mariner who should first descry land, which carried many of them to the top and topgallant; and, about eight o'clock in the morning, there were so many descriers of land, that all Whitelocke's bottles would not suffice to keep his word. About nine o'clock he saw land himself, being the coast of Jutland in Denmark. With this good news he went to the sick people, to comfort them; he drolled with them, especially with the complainants, cheered them the best way he could, took part with them of the stinking water and bad diet, and encouraged them from the sight of land, and as having now but a little while longer to be in their sick cabins and with their bad entertainment.

The wind was very fair, west-south-west, but they could make but little way, Whitelocke being fain to furl his mainsail, and stay for the other ships; but espying a sail to the leeward of them, Whitelocke spread all his sails, and in less than an hour overtook her, and upon firing at her she struck sail. Whitelocke bore up to her, and finding her to be a merchantman of Stockholm let her pass freely.

About three in the afternoon they came to the head

of the Skaw, in passing about which sand they tacked so short that they had but three fathoms and a quarter water, and the ship drew two fathoms and a half; and here, as throughout the voyage, God was pleased mercifully to preserve them from imminent and great danger.

When they were got on the weather side of this sand, Whitelocke cast anchor; the 'Adventure' came into an anchor with them, so did Welch, but the 'Fortune' and 'Elizabeth' were lost of them. The 'Elizabeth' fell in chase of a Dutch ship, which she could not master till she had shot down one of the Hollander's sails; then she took her, though she were an excellent sailer and had good guns. From her skipper they understood that the late great storm drove eighteen of the Dutch men-of-war on shore, and split most of them, and that four thousand dead carcasses of their men floated to the Holland shore: the more did God's goodness appear to Whitelocke and his company, in their preservation in the same storm.

This rencounter made the 'Elizabeth' and 'Fortune' to lose Whitelocke, and in great storms and danger to try it out at sea.

November 15, 1653.

Anchors
within the
Skaw.

After Whitelocke had cast anchor, within two hours the wind grew to a very raging storm; and it was so violent, that the seamen doubted their cables and feared to be driven upon the coast, which was no small danger. The ships, as they lay, tossed and rolled so vehemently, that both old and young seamen had cause enough to be afraid of their present condition;

but Whitelocke encouraged them the best he could, and persuaded them to put their confidence in Him who could still the raging of the seas when He pleased.

About midnight the wind and tempest began to cease, and blow north-west, fair for Gothenburg, at which Whitelocke cheered his company; and he had got much into their affection, and into the favour of the officers and mariners, by his kindness and familiarity, and by being much on the decks, and drolling with them, and discoursing, especially by affording them now and then a douse in the neck or a kick in jest, seeing them play, and then giving them some of his own tobacco, wine, and strong waters, as there was occasion, which demeanours please those kind of people.

About four o'clock in the morning Whitelocke commanded to fire two guns, for warning to his ships to weigh anchor and sail with him; and about six o'clock he was under sail, though much troubled to weigh his anchor, the same having dragged that night, by the violence of the storms, about a league from the place in which it was let fall; and the anchor of the 'Adventure' was so fastened, that they were five hours in weighing of it, nor could they then have done it without great help, wherein Welch and his lusty fellows did good service.

These two ships followed Whitelocke to the coast of Norway, to the Pater Noster rocks, so called for that the dreadfulnes of them puts the passengers in mind of saying their prayers; and surely that coast and country, being full of huge, tall, craggy, numberless company of rocks, especially at that time of the

year, and scarce anything else to be seen, yielded a prospect full enough of dread and terror.

Their stories of monstrous fishes in this sea, some in the shape of giants, rising to the top of the water, and coming to a ship's side and snatching men away from the decks to the bottom of the sea, with their multitudes of witches, and other dismal relations, neither persuade much credit, nor readiness to go thither to inquire the truth of them.

Makes the
port of Go-
thenburg;

The wind being fair and large, Whitelocke hasted and came, by twelve o'clock at noon, blessed be God, in safety to the port of Gothenburg, having no pilot from the shore, as ships usually have; but his own pilot adventured (and it was adventure enough), and, by the goodness of God, brought him safely into their long-desired harbour.

Welch and the 'Adventure' followed Whitelocke, and getting pilots from the shore, where they watch to be employed, they also, through God's goodness, arrived safely in the same port; and so did the 'Elizabeth' and the 'Fortune,' with their Dutch prize, the same day, following Whitelocke thither.

And although the days before, every one of his ships was scattered and gone from him by the terrible storms, and this day he came in himself alone to this harbour, yet it pleased God that here every one of his ships came in the same day to him, to the rejoicing of them all in the goodness of their guide.

At Whitelocke's first coming thither, he found two English men-of-war there, who had been sent a convoy to some merchantmen; these expressed much joy at Whitelocke's arrival, saluting him by their cannon and by the shouts and acclamations of their men.

Being come into the brade water,* Whitelocke let fall his anchor about cannon-shot from the castle, but would not come nearer to it. He saluted the castle with eleven guns, and a little moving his flag, and putting it up again; the castle made no return to him; yet Whitelocke sent some of his people, who spoke Dutch, and Mr. Berkman, who came with Whitelocke all his voyage; he now went with Whitelocke's servants to the castle, to salute the Governor, and let him know that Whitelocke was come thither Ambassador from England to the Queen of Sweden, whereof he thought fit to give the Governor notice; but they not finding him in the castle, met with him in the town, and there delivered their message to him, who returned a civil answer, that he was glad of the Ambassador's safe arrival, and if he pleased to come to the town the next day, that the Governor would send boats to attend him, and be ready to give him entertainment with all due respect.

Whitelocke sent for the officers and all the gentlemen in the other ships to come on board to him, where they went to prayers together, to return thanks to their most gracious God, who had, in so much mercy, preserved them in so many and imminent dangers, and to bring all of them in safety and comfort to their desired harbour.

Having sent some of his servants before to the and lands. town, to make provisions for his coming thither, he was earnestly entreated by his gentlemen and people to go on shore that night, and to dispense with the

* [For *broail water*, meaning a still, open water. In Norfolk, the word *broad* is applied to sheets of still water, both inland and contiguous to the sea.]

ceremonies of his reception at the town, which might be performed after his landing. Whitelocke pitied them, being extreme sick and weather-beaten at sea, and their provisions and spirits almost spent; he yielded to their request, and in the evening he and most of his company took the ship boats to go on shore. As they passed by, the castle saluted him with two guns, and no more; the like did the men-of-war and merchantmen in the river; whereof he inquiring the reason, was informed that their constant custom was, and a strict command upon them, to give but two guns upon any occasion, which they call a Swede's leasing; and the example for saving of powder may providently be followed.

His reception.

At his landing he was received by a tall man in red clothes, whom they then termed the major of the town forces, who was very civil, and conducted Whitelocke to his inn, hard by, through a multitude of spectators.

Shortly after his being landed, there came to visit him the Landeshere,* that is, the lord or head of the land or territory, who is governor of the town and of a precinct about it; he was accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Sinclair, a Scotchman, who interpreted for him to this effect:—

“The Landeshere prays you to excuse your not being received with that solemnity which was fit, because they did not expect him coming till tomorrow morning, but you are heartily welcome; and it is the Queen's pleasure that all respect be given to you, which the Landeshere is ready to perform, and to serve you in anything within his power.”

Whitelocke returned thanks for the Queen's favour

* Whitelocke writes it *Landtshere* or *Landtzhued*.

and for the Landeshere's civility; and spake in English, because the Landeshere spake in Swedish. After him came Martin Thysen, the Queen's Vice-Admiral, a Dutchman, to bid Whitelocke welcome, who wondered at his compliments, in falling then into discourse about the war between England and Holland, magnifying the actions and successes of the Dutch, and undervaluing the English; but he was roundly answered by Whitelocke, and told that such were the successes of the Dutch, that the English in this war had taken twelve hundred Dutch ships and not lost one hundred English ships, and had worsted them in every engagement. With this Martin Thysen seemed much displeased, and afterwards complained to some that Whitelocke had disparaged the Dutch nation. Whitelocke answered, that Thysen, being a Dutchman, began the discourse, and disparaged the English, which he could not nor would not bear; and after this Thysen discoursed no more on that subject.

Colonel Nerne, a Scotchman, who commanded the regiment of foot in the town, gave Whitelocke a visit and some compliments.

Whitelocke's goods could not be permitted to be brought on shore to him this night; it being the order of this town, that in the evening they shut the boom, which is a great bar of timber, so set that it may easily be moved forward and backward, and locked: it is brought across that place in the river left for passage, and being shut, all passage is stopped by water; and they will not open it till the morning, for the safety of the town, and preventing stealing of custom.

Whitelocke sent to have it opened for his goods to

pass, but it was not done, which he took ill; and the Landeshere afterwards excused, that he knew not of his sending to have it opened.

Towards night thirty soldiers were sent to Whitelocke's lodging to keep guard there, whereat Whitelocke took exception, not being first acquainted with it, and by his condition privileged from such things to be imposed on him; but the Landeshere and Berkman alleged it to be a custom, and constant respect in this country, where any soldiers were, to send some as guards to ambassadors; wherewith Whitelocke was satisfied, and the soldiers were quiet and civil; commending the English Ambassador's hospitality, such as they were not accustomed to; and thankfully accepting the meat, and drink, and money which the Ambassador gave them; the expectation whereof by them was some motive to this their respect.

November 16, 1653.

The Magistrates of the city wait on Whitelocke.

Berkman posted away early to the Court, to give the Queen notice of Whitelocke's arrival; and, about nine o'clock, came an officer from the magistrates of the city to Whitelocke, to know if he were at leisure to give them leave to wait on him; and was answered, that they should be welcome whensoever they pleased to come. Within an hour came to him, to his inn, the three Presidents, who are the principal magistrates of the town, with the Syndic, who is in nature of recorder, and twelve, called assistants.

Whitelocke being come forth to them in the outer room, after salutations, the first President made a set speech in Latin to this effect:—

“Most Excellent Lord Ambassador,

“The city of Gothenburg, whose servants we are, do by us salute your Excellency, and congratulate your safe arrival at this place, to which you are most welcome.

“They entreat your Excellency to excuse the manner of your reception here; they do acknowledge, that herein they have not demeaned themselves as was requisite towards so great a person, and of such condition as you are: all things were unsuitable to a negotiation from the free Commonwealth of England, and to the command of our most Serene Queen; and were far otherwise than was agreeable to the intention and desire of this city.

“The sudden and unlooked-for coming of your Excellency from your ship did prevent all due offices; yet they hope, and entreat your Excellency, that you will not take it in ill part; and do assure you, that as long as you shall be pleased to make your residence in this city, what commands your Excellency shall impose upon us we shall observe, and not be wanting in all honour and respect towards the free Commonwealth of England, and the affairs wherewith your Excellency is trusted: and they do herein wish their own happiness, when they wish unto your Excellency all prosperity and good success in the business committed to your care and charge.”

The President delivered this with a graceful mien, and many ceremonies, bowing himself when he named the Queen, or the Commonwealth, or the Ambassador.

After a little pause, and saluting them, Whitelocke answered in Latin to this effect:—

“Most Honoured Gentlemen,

“I give you many thanks, for that by this civility and respect to me, their servant, you manifest the esteem you have for the Commonwealth of England, whereof I shall not fail to certify my superiors.

“And I do not doubt but that my reception here had been answerable to your expressions, had not my unexpected arrival prevented it; for which I desire your excuse to those who, having been long at sea, tossed with many tempests and contrary winds, had an earnest desire to come on shore. And I shall hope, in a short time, to have the opportunity of giving thanks to her Majesty for her commands as to my reception. I doubt not but that the good and great God, who hath brought me and my company safe to this honourable city, and preserved us in our dangerous voyage, will still go along with us, and vouchsafe his gracious success to the business committed to my trust, and to all other the affairs of the Commonwealth of England.” •

After this they fell into general discourses in Latin, which most of them, and the Syndic, spake very well, and which is not usual for burghers elsewhere. They offered their service for Whitelocke's accommodation here, and in his land journey, and took their leaves with much ceremony and civility. Whitelocke brought them to the door of the inn where he lodged.

Some of his officers and gentlemen were appointed by Whitelocke to consider of some orders, and present them to him, for the better regulating and government of his family.

In the afternoon he was visited by Colonel Sinclair, of whom he learned the number, pay, and discipline of their soldiers here, and the manner of their fortifications.

This day his trunks and goods could not be brought on shore by reason of the ill weather. In the evening about twenty men and boys, with lanterns and candles, came to Whitelocke's lodging, and sang in parts, with indifferent good skill and voices; they

were choristers, and their music such as they had in their churches: the end was a reward of eight rix-dollars.

November 17, 1653.

The rest of Whitelocke's goods were brought on shore to the town, being but three miles from the ships, and his horses were lifted on shore; and, which was wondered at, after so long and tempestuous a voyage, not one of thirty-two horses was spoiled, lame, or hurt when they came on shore. Landing of
the whole
Embassy.

The goods in the 'Fortune' being mostly provisions, Whitelocke intended to have sent by sea to Stockholm; but by advice of the magistrates of Gothenburg, that it would not be so cheap nor secure as to send them by land, and that the frost being come, if it should hold, the goods could not be brought by sea to Stockholm till the next spring, Whitelocke ordered them also to be brought on shore.

Amongst all his people,—after so long and dangerous a sea voyage, and so much sea-sickness,—such was the wonderful goodness of God, that now being come together, not one of them was ill, or had the least hurt. Whitelocke held it his and their duty, to return all thankfulness to God for his mercy and preservation; and, for that end, appointed all his people to meet the next morning at his lodging, to keep it a day of thanksgiving for his mercy.

The Syndic came courteously to Whitelocke, to know if he wanted anything wherein he might serve him: he was a civil person, and spake good Latin and French. Whitelocke was courteous to him at dinner,

and in the afternoon, sent Dr. Whistler, Mr. Ingelo, and Mr. De la Marche, with the Syndic, to the chief President, to thank him and the rest of the magistrates for their respects; and to advise with them about his land journey, and the conveyance of his goods to Stockholm.

Whitelocke thought fit to send two of his own servants, Andrew Potley and Meredith (who both spake good High Dutch, which is generally understood in Sweden), with letters to Prince Adolphe, Grand Master of Sweden, the Prince Palatine's brother, and other letters to the Ricks-Chancellor Oxenstiern, to this purpose. The English of the letter was this:—

“To His Highness the Great Master of the Kingdom of Sweden.

“Most illustrious Sir,

“According to the commands which I have received from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to perform an embassy to your most Serene Queen, I have at length arrived at Gothenburg, where I hoped to have met her Majesty, from a relation in England by a creditable person given unto me; but being disappointed of my hopes, and not knowing whither to bend my course for the performance of my charge, I held it fit, by my servant, with these letters to certify your Highness hereof, that you might be pleased to gratify me with a signification of the place, whither I may repair to make my applications to the most Serene Queen, for the discharge of the commission and office of

“Your Highness's most addicted,

“B. WHITELOCKE.

“*Gothenburg,*

“*November 16, 1653.*”

The like letters he sent to the Ricks-Chancellor,

changing the title of Excellence for Highness; and this night he gave them to his servants, with his instructions to deliver them to which of these lords they should find at Court, or first meet with.

The house where Whitelocke lay was a common *cruise*, or inn, inferior to our ordinary inns in England. The house was meanly furnished,—not any hangings or wainscot, but bare walls in the best chambers; yet excellent in comparison of what they found in other places. Whitelocke's lodging was between two feather-beds, after the fashion of that country, which is light and warm, but not so pleasing to Englishmen, who are not accustomed to it, as their rugs and blankets on them. In most of their rooms and chambers is a chimney and a stove, either of which may be made use of; but Whitelocke found the stoves close and suffocating, and not so sweet as the chimneys, which he only used. The chimneys are built high from the hearth to the mantle-tree, near twice as high as those in England, and are broad and sloping on either side; a little above the mantle-tree, where the tunnel grows narrow, is set a plate of iron, so as it may be shut cross the tunnel to stop it, and opened by a string on the outside of the chimney. The use of it is, that when the fire is burnt to coals, and no smoke left, then they thrust in the iron plate cross the tunnel of the chimney, the which stops it, that no air can come down, nor heat ascend up out of the chimney, but strikes the heat out into the room, which much increaseth the warmth of the room, and causeth it to last the longer.

The manner of their making fires is not, as with us, on andirons, they having none of these, nor fire-

White-
locke's
lodging at
Gothen-
burg.

shovels, tongs, bellows, or the like; but their wood being cleft into sticks of fir, like our stack-wood, but shorter and more cleft, they set a good many of those sticks up on end in the chimney upon a little straw, and that, being set on fire, kindles and makes a good fire presently: and this way is generally used by them.

Their provision of diet is plentiful enough, but of no great variety either for fish or fowl; and their beef and mutton is very lean in the winter, which was now begun, but it was made the better by Whitelocke's cook's dressing of it; and the best entertainment that he found was what he brought with him,—good English beer and meal, butter, cheese, baked meats, Spanish and French wine, and divers good provisions: and his field-bed he chose to lie in, rather than between two of their beds.

November 18, 1653.

Courtesy of
the Swedish
Officers.

The Landeshere sent a man of his own to be a guide to Potley and Meredith, and to take order for horses and accommodations for them in their journey to court, whither Whitelocke sent them; so full of courtesy were the officers and people to Whitelocke in this place. Vice-Admiral Thysen came to Colonel Potley, and desired him to acquaint his lord that many complaints were brought to the Vice-Admiral against one of Whitelocke's captains, Captain Welch, about his visiting of ships coming near and to this port; and that he being one of Whitelocke's fleet, the Vice-Admiral would proceed no otherwise in this business, but, out of respect to the English Ambassador, to desire him to take course to prevent it: and Whitelocke

thought fit to do so, by a direction to Captain Foster, to be by him communicated to Captain Welch ; and it was obeyed.

The military officers in this town gave a great respect to Whitelocke ; Colonel Nerne, Lieutenant-colonel Sinclair, the town major, and others, came to accompany him to see the fortifications and view the town. He went forth with them, and now, as at other times, was attended with about forty of his gentlemen, his lacqueys, and other of his people, all with their swords by their sides ; and the gentlemen going bare before him in the town, the inhabitants, as they passed by, showed great civility and respect to Whitelocke, who was not backward to answer them in the same manner.

At their return, Whitelocke stayed the Colonel and officers at dinner with him, where was his captain, Foster, and others, and much discourse about the affairs and war between England and Holland. But Whitelocke did not declare himself freely in that business and company ; and he and his people, by his admonition, were careful to avoid any reflection, nor would Whitelocke bear it.

Captain Foster desired Whitelocke's license for his departure with the 'Elizabeth' and the other ships for England, because the frost was begun, and perhaps might lock them up all the winter if they did not take the first opportunity to sail ; which Whitelocke willingly gave them leave to do, and prepared his despatches, and ordered them to be a convoy to those English ships which were now going from hence with pitch, tar, hemp, and masts, for the State's use in England.

The ships
return to
England.

At parting with his fellow-seamen, Whitelocke gave to Captain Foster a silver basin and ewer, of the value of £20, and sent £10 to the officers of his ship, and £10 more to the mariners. To Captain Minnes he gave a silver tankard of £10 value, and £10 to his ship's company. To the seamen of the 'Adventure' he sent 40s., and ordered the Holland ship which was taken by Minnes to be sold here, except her guns, and those to be carried for England; but the vessel would have been troublesome in the voyage.

The Syndic acquainted Whitelocke that he was appointed by the Presidents to attend Whitelocke in his journey to Upsala, to see that he should want no accommodations in the way; which was kindly taken by Whitelocke, who received now, and constantly during his stay here, many testimonies of civility and respect from the governors and people of this city, and, among the rest, this day the town sent him a present of a hogshead of Rhenish wine, with some fresh fish, and a civil compliment.

November 19, 1653.

Thanks-
giving of
Whitelocke
for his
voyage.

This day Whitelocke set apart for a day of thanksgiving to God, for His wonderful mercy and preservation of him and his company in their dangerous sea-voyage, and his safe arrival here; and his people having received some refreshment on shore, and being now come together at his lodging, Mr. Ingelo began the duty of the day, and acquainted them with the occasion of the meeting; then Mr. Stapleton prayed, and returned humble and hearty thanks to God for His mercy; after he had prayed, Mr. Ingelo preached

an excellent sermon, and very seasonable for the occasion: after they had done, Whitelocke himself spake to the company to this effect:—

“Gentlemen,

“You all have great cause to return humble and hearty thanks to God for His goodness to you, and for your preservation in our dangerous sea-voyage; but I have more cause to return thankfulness to God than any of you, I might say than all of you have, for I am engaged to the goodness of our God in respect of you all, who have taken part with me in our dangers, and in whose good or ill I am concerned as father of the family, whereof you all are children.

“The duty of this relation causeth my speaking to you at this time.

“Before you began this voyage, it pleased God to put it into our hearts to seek Him for His blessing upon it; and He hath been graciously found of us, and vouchsafed such a return of our prayers, whereby He hath given us our lives for a prey, and hath appeared to be our God and our preservation.

“I hope we are all convinced that it is equally our duty to give thanks to our God for His mercies received, which is the way to be partakers of more; if we be not weary of seeking Him, He will not be weary of helping us. This is God’s business and our own, as Seneca divinely saith; he who teacheth gratitude, acts the business of gods and men.

“Those gentlemen who have already spoken to you on this occasion, have piously and learnedly exhorted us as to the inward man, out of the word of God, what pertains to this duty of thanksgiving.

“My part is, as to the outward man, to endeavour that there be a practice answerable to the precepts of it. We have offered in our own country our petitionary sacrifices, and God hath graciously heard us: let us not be wanting,

in a strange land, whither he has safely brought us, in our eucharistical sacrifices ; let us, with Noah, build an altar to God, and offer up our prayers to Him, who hath preserved us in the midst of the great floods, when we heard of very many of our neighbours drowned : we have great cause to magnify His name.

“ The Hebrew for ‘praise’ signifies to offer a gift : what gift are we to offer to God ? The Psalmist (cxix. 7, 8) instructs us : ‘ I will praise Thee with uprightness of heart, I will keep Thy statutes : ’ this is the way of praising God, by uprightness of heart, by keeping His statutes, by living answerable to our mercies.

“ Let our thanksgivings be after the Latin phrase, ‘ *gratias agere*, ’ to do thanksgivings to our God, which is the most pleasing sacrifice ; and, that we may the better do this, I have, according to what I esteem my duty, resolved upon some orders for the better government of my family, whereunto I shall expect a strict conformity, and keep my word with you ; I shall not connive at any breach of them ; it will be to the honour of God and our country, to your good and mine, that they be carefully observed by you ; and, that none may pretend ignorance of them, you shall hear them now published.”

Rules for
the conduct
of the Em-
bassy.

Then Whitelocke caused Mr. Stapleton to read before all the company the ensuing orders :—

“ 1. That none do swear, or curse, or blaspheme, or take the name of God in vain.

“ 2. That none be overseen in drink ; and, to this end, that they neither begin nor pledge healths.

“ 3. That all do observe the times of prayer and public worship, which, besides the Lord’s Days, will be twice every day in the family. And that they pretend no excuse either for absence or late coming to those exercises.

“ 4. That none revile, quarrel with, or give reproachful language to another, but all to behave themselves inoffensively.

“5. That none stay out late in the evenings, after six o’clock, upon any pretence whatever, without leave from his Excellence, or his steward, or those appointed by him to take care of the government of the family.

“6. That none offer any abuse in words or actions to any of his country, or of any other nation, but be careful to give no just cause of offence or scandal to strangers, or to our religion; nor to affront any which may occasion any quarrel or disturbance.

“7. If any offend against any of these orders, after admonition given him, he is to expect no other but a dismissal from his Excellence’s family.”

Besides these orders, Whitelocke made others that were not read, touching the attendance of his servants in their several charges, and concerning ceremonies and civilities, and to forbear coming near the fire after they came out of the cold air, and the like.

He appointed that his two sons, Dr. Whistler, his chaplains, and Colonel Potley, should constantly sit at his own table; and the rest of the gentlemen of that rank in turns, one half one day, and the other the next day, as conveniency and guests did permit; and those who sat not at his own table to sit at his steward’s table, which often was in the same room with himself.

After the orders read, Mr. Stapleton explained them, and exhorted obedience to them; and Whitelocke again told them he expected obedience to them, and an account from his officers of any who should not conform to them; and then he dismissed them.

-This day Whitelocke wrote to the Council an account of his voyage, of God’s goodness in the preservation of him and his company, of the taking and dismissal of the Dutch ships, and the grounds of his so

doing; of the civilities and respects he received in this place; of their phrase of “liberam rempublicam Angliæ*,” touching the ordnance which he was to buy, that there were none ready; and what probable news he heard: and sent his letters to Captain Foster.

November 20, 1653.

This being the Lord’s Day, Colonel Nerne and divers other Scots officers and captains of ships, both English and Scots, came in the morning and heard the sermon in Whitelocke’s lodging, and most of them dined with him.

The Swedes
protest
against the
capture of a
Dutch ship.

In the afternoon (as it is usual in these parts to take this day for business) the Landeshere and Vice-Admiral, with several others, came to Whitelocke and expostulated with him about the Dutch prize which the ‘Elizabeth’ had taken and brought into this port.

The Vice-Admiral alleged, that this Dutch ship was waiting on the fishing, which had been always free for any in those seas, and this ship ought not to have been taken by Whitelocke; who answered, that if the right of fishing were examined, it would be found to belong to none in those seas, but such as had license from the State of England to fish there, and that such licenses had been usually heretofore granted by the King of England, and accepted by the Dutch and others, and gabels imposed on the fishermen; and in this Whitelocke had a furtherance from his former studies.

* [Some importance was attached by Whitelocke to this phrase, as a recognition of the Commonwealth by the Swedish authorities.]

He told them, if such a right should be admitted (which was totally denied), yet it would take but little place with those in enmity, as the Dutch now were with the English ; that he held this prize justly taken, and saw no cause to release it.

The Vice-Admiral angrily replied, asserting the right of fishing ; Whitelocke as sternly denying it. Then Thysen objected, that the Queen had forbidden any prizes of the Dutch, or any other in amity with her Majesty, as the Dutch were, to be taken in her streams or brought into her ports ; and that the bringing in of this Dutch ship to Gothenburg was expressly against the Queen's inhibition, and ought to be released.

Whitelocke answered, that this Dutch ship was not taken in any of the Queen's streams, but upon the high seas, many leagues distant from any of the Queen's streams ; and being taken by Whitelocke's fleet, she became one of them, and now rode under his flag ; and the Commonwealth whom he served being in amity with the Queen, that he their Ambassador might bring this ship, as well as any other of his fleet, with him to Gothenburg ; and wished Thysen to rest satisfied, for he could not release the ship upon these terms : at which the Vice-Admiral became more calm than before.

Whitelocke had intelligence that some Dutch ships were loading with ordnance and ammunition at Stockholm, whereof he gave notice to Captain Foster ; and by letters advised, whether he and the 'Elizabeth' might not have opportunity to wait for them, and endeavour to attach them in their way home.

November 21, 1653.

Captain
Foster or-
dered to
return to
England.

Captain Foster returned this answer to Whitelocke's letters.

"1. It is very probable that the Dutch residing at Gothenburg have ere this sent intelligence to Stockholm of our being here, and of what strength we are; and what likelihood there is that your Honour hath gained intelligence of them, and thereupon may have commanded us to attend their motion betwixt the Riffe and Dogger Sand.

"2. That upon receipt of such intelligence, they will either order their stay there till the Spring, which they had rather do than hazard the losing of them, or else provide such a convoy for them as we cannot do any good upon.

"3. That if we do wait for their motion, and meet with them, our first work will be to encounter with their convoy, and to destroy them; upon which these two evils may ensue, viz. either we may be disabled in our masts, and become a prey to them, or at best, when their convoys are engaged, they will undoubtedly escape, and run their ships on shore rather than be taken.

"4. And lastly, if we do lie for them, and meet with them, yet, in regard it is in depth of winter, the winds and seas may be so high, that we cannot meddle with each other; so that time and provisions may be spent, and the result of all may be to us but a check.

"These particulars are humbly thrown at your Honour's feet; notwithstanding which, if you shall please, upon more mature considerations, to send me order to attend the business, we shall in the strength of our Lord waive all fears of danger, and to the utmost of our powers endeavour the executing of your Lordship's commands to the last man. Craving your Lordship's pardon for my assumption herein, I commit you into the bosom of Divine protection."

Whitelocke was satisfied with Captain Foster's reasons, and wrote to him that he should not wait for

those Dutch ships at Stockholm; and he gave an account of that business by letters in cipher to the Council, praying their further direction therein.

This day Whitelocke was visited by one of the Presidents and Syndic, who offered their service for his accommodations; and the Syndic offered and undertook to manage the business of his journey, and wait upon him; whose courtesy Whitelocke did willing accept.

By letters of credit which Whitelocke brought with him from his merchant in England, he received here of Mr. Gough, correspondent to Mr. Phips, 2000 rix-dollars, for which he gave him his acquittance.

“ At Gothenburg, November 12, 1653.

“ Received then by me, B. Whitelocke, etc., of Timothy Gough, merchant, the sum of 2000 rix-dollars, which I do hereby promise shall be repaid to Mr. Gough, or his certain order, when and where he pleaseth; witness my hand,

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The Vice-Admiral and the magistrates of this town finding Whitelocke's resolution to be fixed as to the Dutch prize, and that the way which the Vice-Admiral had gone would not take with Whitelocke, who was not to be vapoured or threatened into a conformity to their desires, they therefore now joined together in a way of more respect and civility; making it their suit to him, that, for the good of the town, and out of charity and favour, he would be pleased, of his own generosity and free goodwill, to release this ship.

Whitelocke consents to release the Dutch ship of his own grace and favour.

Whitelocke told them he was ready to manifest the good affections of his superiors and of himself in this city, and to do a work of charity; wished that the skipper should present a petition to him for the re-

lease of his ship ; and he promised a favourable answer to it.

This he did to try if the Vice-Admiral and skipper, being Dutchmen, would acknowledge the Commonwealth of England and their Ambassador ; which they had no mind to do, nor Whitelocke to gratify them without it. Yet they expected this day what he would do in it ; and the skipper came often to Whitelocke's lodging, to solicit for his letter to the captain of the 'Elizabeth' to release his ship ; but was asked for his petition, without which the skipper was told that nothing could be done in his business.

November 22, 1653.

Petition of
the Dutch
skipper.

Another of the Presidents of the town and the Syndic again visit Whitelocke ; with whom he conferred about his journey, and made some requests to them in order thereunto, which they and their brethren carefully performed.

The Vice-Admiral and the skipper of the Dutch prize, seeing that Whitelocke insisted to have a petition for the release of the ship, their stomachs came down, and their great master, profit, prevailed with them ; so that the skipper presented to Whitelocke a petition in Latin. The title was,

"Nobilissime et excellentissime Domine, my Lord Whitelocke, patrone devenerande." (Most noble and most excellent Lord, my Lord Whitelocke, etc.)

The prayer was, to have his ship and goods restored ; "which, that it may be done, I humbly petition that your Excellence would vouchsafe to signify the same by your mandatory letters to the captain."

Whitelocke was not satisfied with this petition, as not sufficiently acknowledging his superiors and himself; which he objected to the Landeshere, the Vice-Admiral, and the magistrates, who again applied themselves to Whitelocke, and made it their joint and earnest request to him to release the ship. And to his objection they answered, that the poor skipper had gone as far as he durst in the acknowledgment of the Commonwealth of England and their Ambassador, for fear of being questioned for it by his lords the States when he came home; that he had inserted the word petition, and the title of Excellence, which is due to Ambassadors only; and thereby had in effect acknowledged the Commonwealth and their Ambassador: and it was believed by some, that the skipper would be punished when he came home for going so far as he had done. And all these gentlemen were all earnest suitors to Whitelocke, not to insist further upon the form or title, but to accept the poor skipper's intentions of due honour and respect to him; and that, upon the grounds of preserving a fair correspondence between the Queen their mistress, and the Commonwealth whom he served, and to prevent any disputes upon the matter of her Majesty's right and of her inhibitions, and to do a favour to this city, whose trade was so highly concerned herein, and to do an act of great charity to the poor men, he would be pleased to order the release of his ship; which would be well taken by the Queen, and an obligation upon this city; and that those persons who were now suitors to him for it, would be ready to serve him in anything within their utmost powers.

By these arguments Whitelocke was more per-

suaded than by any other ; and told these gentlemen, that for the title of Excellence, it was due to senators, generals, and high admirals, as well as to ambassadors ; but that he was the more satisfied that neither the right of the Commonwealth whom he served, nor of their Ambassador, was denied, because the noble Vice-Admiral and the rest of them did so often and so freely in their discourse acknowledge it ; that he was very willing to lay hold on any occasion wherby he might testify the honour and respect which his superiors and himself had for the Queen their mistress, and all care to prevent any misunderstanding between her Majesty and the Commonwealth of England, preserving the due right of them and their servant ; that he was also very ready to do all good offices for this city, which had expressed high respects to his superiors in their civilities to him, who held himself obliged also to gratify those gentlemen who did him the honour to make this request to him, and from whom he had received all respect in this place : that on all these considerations, they had prevailed with him (who could hardly give them a denial) that, at their desire, and to express his respect to her Majesty, to these noble persons, and to this city, he was determined to give order for the release of this ship.

At which, the Landeshere, the Vice-Admiral, and the magistrates, all then present with Whitelocke, seemed exceedingly pleased, and gave him many thanks for this great favour to them, and to this city, and his real respects to her Majesty hereby ; and with many other compliments they parted.

Whitelocke thought this the best way to avoid difference and disputes with these officers of the Queen,

and it might be (through their instigation) with the Queen herself, at his first coming amongst them ; but rather took this opportunity to engage them to civility to him and his company, and to further his affairs ; which was done by them to their power, and little prejudice was to Whitlocke's superiors. He wrote to Captain Foster, that this ship should be restored to the owners ; which was done accordingly.

November 23, 1653.

Sir John Maclere, a Scotch merchant, living in this city, though he had been of the King's party, yet visited Whitlocke with much respect, and found his doors and civilities open to him, as they were to all other gentlemen, without distinction of parties or persuasions, or taking any notice of delinquents ; providing for his own security.

Whitlocke
returns the
civilities
of the
Landeshere.

Nor was he wanting to return ceremonies to those from whom he received any. He sent, after the custom, to know if the Landeshere were within, and at leisure to receive a visit ; who sent a kind invitation, that he should take it as a great honour to see the English Ambassador at his house. Whitlocke walked thither, not being far, on foot, about fifty of his gentlemen walking bare before him ; some of the first rank following close after him, his pages and lacqueys after them, and with their swords by their sides. At the Landeshere's door stood sentries and a guard of soldiers ; he met Whitlocke at his outer gate, and treated him with much ceremony and courtesy. As soon as they were set down, the Landeshere called for wine, and drank freely to Whitlocke and his com-

pany; and his people carried the wine to all the gentlemen, and to the servants in the antechamber; it was reasonable good Rhenish, and store enough of it.

The house was not very fair nor richly furnished, but convenient, and most of his attendants were soldiers. Amongst other discourse, the Landeshere acquainted Whitelocke that, by letters from the Court, he understood the Queen had some intention to remove to a place called Heskoe, seven miles on this side of Upsal; but of this he said there was no certainty, nor would that place be so convenient for her Majesty's Court, and for those who were to resort to her, as Upsal was.

Whitelocke had also discourse with this gentleman touching the nature of his office of Landeshere, and the authority and jurisdiction thereof, and the precinct wherein the same was exercised by him. And he collected from him that his office had much resemblance, and in effect was the same, with the office of our high sheriffs in England, with the like ministerial and judicial authority within his territory and precinct, which also seemed to be much like unto one of our shires, not of the largest sort, in England.

November 24, 1653.

An ecclesiastical dignitary visits Whitelocke.

The Superintendent of Gothenburg came to visit Whitelocke with great civility. He is an ecclesiastical officer, differing in name and title, but not in power and office, from a bishop. He hath his name from the duty of his place, and supervision and superintendency over the clergy, and the ecclesiastical affairs of that diocese where he is placed, and is in

effect a bishop by another name. He hath the privilege of being a member of their supreme public council, but is not to intermeddle with temporal affairs or State matters, which is also prohibited to all their bishops and clergy.

He spake good Latin, and seemed to be a grave and learned man. Whitelocke discoursed with him touching the office of their bishops and superintendents in their country, and of the profession of religion here. He informed Whitelocke freely in these matters, that in this place the profession of religion was not so strictly Lutheran as in other parts of the kingdom, because here was a liberty permitted to Calvinists, and a public church built and allowed to them, which is no small privilege in this country; but the Swedes are frowned upon, if any of them look into the Calvin church here; yet divers of them do frequent it. That the Swedes generally and devoutly do adhere to the opinions of Luther, and to the practice of the churches allowed by him; and whosoever differs from them is not only looked upon with an evil eye, but commonly driven from his country. Yet in this town it is otherwise, and many of their greatest and wisest men have testified their just dislike of this severity, and their inclination to permit a freedom of opinion and conscience, not disturbing the public peace; for which Whitelocke did freely argue, and the Superintendent was not morose in the denial of it, and that there ought to be persecution for non-conformity, especially in matters of ceremony, where the fundamentals are acknowledged, and the public peace not disturbed.

They have pictures and images, and great observa-

tion of ceremonies in their churches. Their church musicians were pleased to visit Whitelocke, and wondered when they saw him and divers of his people to understand their art, and to sing with them, which they thought had been generally abhorred in England; and were much pleased to find the contrary, but more with the gratuity by Whitelocke bestowed on them.

He entertains the authorities at dinner.

Whitelocke kept the Superintendent at dinner, and the Landeshere, the Vice-Admiral, Colonel Nerne, Sinclair; and the major of the military men, the three presidents and the syndic of the civil part, by invitation, dined with him. The Superintendent had the first place, the Landeshere against him; then the Vice-Admiral and military officers on the same side, and the Presidents and Syndic by the Superintendent on the other side. They all commended Whitelocke's wine, English beer, and provisions. Their discourse was general, most concerning the affairs of England, wherein Whitelocke was able to give them some information, but was wary of his words in so much company, particularly in the business of the war with Holland: upon which occasion the Landeshere related a passage of a governor of a port in Norway, not far from Gothenburg, who, finding that one of that port had taken a commission from the Hollanders as a private man-of-war, and by colour thereof had brought thither a Scottish ship as prize, the governor released the Scottish ship and imprisoned the private man-of-war; which action Whitelocke commended, as just and honourable in the governor, and in the King of Denmark to give him such instructions; but Thysen said nothing to it.

They sat long at dinner, as they use to do at entertainments ; and this was none of the meanest they had been at. By Whitelocke's order, his officers had provided the best meat that the town would afford, whereof they ate freely ; and of his sack and claret they drank more freely, but no healths ; yet made it dark before they rose from table, and took their leaves with many thanks and compliments.

November 25, 1653.

This day the people of the town kept a day of public thanksgiving to God, for the great plenty of corn and other provisions which had been given them the last year, as they use to do upon like occasions, and observe these days very strictly and devoutly, all shutting up their shops and resorting to their parish churches. And after the evening sermon, which is ended early, Whitelocke in his usual equipage walked forth in the town, where he had the more view of the people, being abroad, and keeping it as a holy day ; and as he passed by any of them, he was saluted with much respect and great civility, which he was not slack to answer.

This farewell letter was sent to Whitelocke by Captain Foster :—

A day of
thanks-
giving for
the harvest.

A letter
from Cap-
tain Foster
to White-
locke.

“ For his Excellence the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke.

These.

“ MY LORD,

“ In obedience to your commands, I have issued forth an order for the surrender of the ‘ Elizabeth ’ prize to the owner, etc. Since my last being at Gothenburg, we have had very tempestuous weather, with such frets of weather in twenty hours’ time at all the points of the compass, that

two of our anchors, each of 1600lbs. weight, have had much ado, with new cables, to hold our frigates. I cannot but admire the goodness of our God in giving your Excellence a safe voyage. I rest assured, my Lord, that this, with that welcome news from your lady, is and will remain as a signal testimony of the Lord's eminent appearance with you, and for you, in all your undertakings. And although, peradventure, the weighty affairs your Excellence is now employed about in the behalf of your nation, may at some time seemingly have a veil of intricacy upon them, intermixed with dubious fear of desired success, yet rest assured, dear Sir, that the Eternal Power will own and honour you with the full accomplishment of your desires; seeing you have so freely parted with all that is dear unto you as to externals, exposing yourself to the stormy winter blasts at sea, and the many unknown difficulties that attend these barren rocky countries, for unparalleled service for your country. Not only this, but future ages will have cause to honour the memory of your name and faithful services.

“Your Lordship's most humble servant,

“NICHOLAS FOSTER.

“*Phoenix frigate, Nov. 24, 1653.*”

November 26, 1653.

Description
of Gothen-
burg.

The wind continued very high, and wholly contrary to Captain Foster's course for England, so that he was enforced to continue in this harbour of Gothenburg; the description whereof Whitelocke, having a little leisure, set down whilst it was in his memory.

The coming to this harbour is very difficult and dangerous, especially for strangers, who use to pass the Riff, spoken of before; and if one fall upon a shallow part of it (whereof there are many, and hardly to be avoided without a good pilot), it is very perilous.

From thence they must double the Skaw, which is the point of Jutland, and from thence bear their course to the coast of Norway, which is full of terrible rocks, near which they must pass ; and so by a constant strong current of water from the Baltic Sea through the Sound, which makes the crossing of it very difficult, and the passage to the haven is not discovered till one comes very near to it. The passage itself is so strait, that without good pilots the ship can hardly escape the rocks from splitting on them, there not being much more than twice the length of a ship between the rocks in some straits for the ship's passage.

About a league within the harbour a new fort was built, where the passage is not above a musket-shot in breadth ; and in the midst of that narrow passage is a rock, two or three feet under water, upon which divers ships have been lost, and one of Gothenburg a little before Whitelocke's coming thither. Here the ship must go close by the new fort, which fully commands the entry into the haven ; and although the fort be small, yet it is strong and regular. A little beyond it the ships come into an open wide water, about the extent of an English mile, encompassed with high and huge rocks, where a great number of ships, and of the greatest burden, may safely ride, defended from the winds by the rocks and shore on all sides ; and it is of a great depth. This is about a Swedish mile (that is, seven English miles) from the sea ; and at the further end of this broad water the haven grows narrower, not above a quarter of an English mile in breadth.

There stands a castle on the east side, which commands the entrance into the river ; the castle is not

great, but strongly situated on a rock, and well fortified and provided ; this was known by some of our countrymen, who, in King James's time, served under the Lord Willoughby (afterwards Earl of Lindsay) in assistance of the King of Denmark, to besiege it, but were repulsed.

The river from the castle to the town is narrow, and about three English miles in length ; in all which way it is very deep, and is good harbour for ships of the greatest burden, where they ride safely. In this part of the river lay many of the Queen's men-of-war ; among them a fair and well-built ship, called the 'Hercules,' carrying threescore pieces of brass ordnance ; her captain was the Vice-Admiral Thysen : she seemed fitter for a defence in fight than for an assailant or for fleetness, more bulky than nimble, much unlike our English frigates, yet greatly esteemed there. Here lay also many Swedish merchantmen, being near the town, and but a short passage for carrying and re-carrying, by boats and small vessels, of goods between the town and the ships. At the hither end of the town is a pretty little house of the Queen's, upon the river, which is not fortified, yet hath some great guns planted about it.

November 27, 1653.

Being the Lord's Day, yet these people (as is too usual with them) presented verses to Whitelocke in print, with a large dedication, which being very many in number, and having more design of begging than of ingenuity, he sent the expected reward, and laid them by.

The Vice-Admiral and other officers of the Queen, whereof some were of the town, came to Whitelocke and informed him that Captain Welch had taken two Holland merchantmen, and brought them into her Majesty's port here, contrary to her orders; and they desired that Whitelocke would send for the captain and admonish him about it, and discharge these ships which he had thus injuriously taken.

Capture of
two more
Dutch
ships.

Whitelocke answered that he would inquire how the business was, and do that which should be fit in it; and upon examination of the matter he found that after Whitelocke was come on shore, Welch put out to sea again, and met with two Holland ships riding at the Skaw, the one of them being of four hundred tons burden; yet Welch being well manned and provided for fight, he desperately set upon this ship, and boarded her. She made no resistance, but was thus taken by him. Then he fell upon the other Holland ship, being about three hundred and fifty tons burden, and clapped her on board likewise; and thus seized upon both of them, being loaded with wheat, rye, wool, and planks: and being thus possessed of these prizes, he would fain have gone with them directly for England, but the wind being contrary, and the weather very tempestuous, he was forced, for safety, to come into this harbour, but kept himself without the command of the forts, and rode as under Whitelocke's flag and as one of his fleet.

This being the state of the matter, Whitelocke sent to the Vice-Admiral to acquaint him therewith, and to tell him that Whitelocke thought it neither appertained to him as Ambassador or commander of the English ships here, nor to any of the Queen's officers, to in-

termèddle in this business of Captain Welch ; neither did he believe that the Queen's harbours would be denied to any Englishman who had commission by authority of the Parliament, as Welch had, or was part of the English Ambassador's fleet, as he was, to come into them, and to shelter himself from the danger of storms ; that the business was done upon the high sea, and between the English and Dutch, who were now in actual war, and therefore the taking of their ships by Welch, Whitlocke thought very justifiable ; and that he was not obliged to give a further account thereof to any whatsoever, nor to reprove the captain for what he had done, nor to release the Holland ships by him taken, but rather to commend his mettle and good service, and to encourage him.

With this message from Whitlocke the Vice-Admiral seemed much offended, but knew not which way to help his countrymen, but endeavoured afterwards to do somewhat further on their behalf.

Whitlocke
proposes to
continue
his journey.

Whitlocke began to grow weary of his stay in this place, and earnestly desired to be in the way of proceeding in his business ; and being now certainly informed that the Queen was at Upsal, and purposed to reside there all this winter, he thereupon resolved to begin his journey from hence the next Wednesday, and to keep in the direct way to Upsal, hoping within two or three days' journey he might meet with Berkman, and with his own servants upon the way in their return from the Court.

In pursuance of this resolution, he gave order to his officers to prepare and get all things in readiness for his journey, and appointed the gentleman of his horse, with some others of his servants, to go

the next day to the Landeshere to have his advice and assistance for the procuring of horses, waggons, and accommodations for his land journey; which the Landeshere very readily promised to do, and to send out his warrants for that purpose.

He appointed them likewise to go to the Syndic, and with him to the President's, to advise about the same business; and they all expressed very great forwardness to assist Whitelocke in this business, and to do all the service in their power; and conferring with his officers, they concluded that it would be necessary for warrants to be sent out into the country to bring into this town, on Wednesday morning, by break of day, one hundred saddle-horses and one hundred waggons, for the removal of Whitelocke and his company and carriages; and thereof they certified the Landeshere.

November 28, 1653.

The magistrates of this city presented to Whitelocke a supplicatory letter in Latin, under their common seal, touching a ship of this town, taken by an English man-of-war, and detained as prize in England. The letter was thus superscribed:—

Case of a
Swedish
ship de-
tained in
England.

“Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Domino, Domino Bulstrode Whitelocke, etc.

“*Gothenburg,*
November 28th,
1653.”

“*Ex^æ v^æ addictissimi, Burgravius,*
Præsides, et Senatores civitatis
Gothoburgensis.

“To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, the Lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, Constable of the Castle of Windsor, and one of the Lords Keepers of the Great Seal, and Extraordinary Ambassador of the Common-

wealth of England to the Most Serene Queen of Sweden, our most courteous Lord."

The letter set forth, that the ship belonged to this town, and ought not to be taken or detained as prize; and they entreat Whitelocke's assistance and mediations to his superiors in England for the discharge of her, and subscribe

"Most addicted to your Excellence, the
Burggrave, Presidents, and Senators of
the city of Gothenburg."

Whitelocke, finding in the letters an acknowledgment of the Commonwealth of England and of their Ambassador, was the more willing to give them a fair answer; and understanding by their letter that the business had received former agitation in England, but without such success as was expected, he was the more wary how far to engage therein, but showed all respect to the magistrates who brought the letter, and assured them that he would acquaint his superiors with the great civilities he, as their servant, had received from this city, and whereby they gave testimony of their high respect to the Commonwealth of England, which he would improve to the best advantage he could for the service of this city, and, according to their desires, would effectually endeavour with the Council of State in England, on the behalf of the citizens of this city, in the business mentioned in their letter: with which answer the magistrates went away well contented.

Further description of
Gothenburg.

Whitelocke, put in mind by their coming, and having a little leisure, set down the description of the town of Gothenburg, with its fortifications, and both military and political state.

“This city is commodiously situated for commerce, and better than any other port-town of Sweden, in regard ships are not forced to go through the Sound and to pay the gabels thereof to come unto their trade; and it is not above nine or ten English miles from the main sea.

“It stands upon a river, which separates Gothland from Norway, and is divided into several arms and branches, which go through every street of the city, and are of great benefit to the inhabitants, serving every one for the loading and unloading of his goods at his own door. It hath convenient bridges, though of fir, for the passage of people, horses, and waggons over every water.

“Norway is very near this town, the small river only parting it, from whence (and much of it by this river, which is a long way navigable) come down goodly masts for ships, deals, pitch, and tar, in great abundance; and also from the countries belonging to Sweden on the other side of the river, which reacheth high into the land, where also it is navigable for great boats; so that the commodities from both sides of it are easily, and with little charge, brought to this city; nor are these waters so soon frozen in this river as others are.

“There is this inconvenience of the river, that about a day’s journey above the town is a great and strange fall of the water, so fierce and deep that no vessel can pass it; but all goods brought thither must be unloaded above, and loaded again below this fall.

“About thirty years since, the town was poor and inconsiderable, nor frequented by merchants, or capable by buildings to receive them; but King Gustavus Adolphus, observing the commodiousness of the haven and the situation for traffic, especially for avoiding the King of Denmark’s impositions through the Sound, he granted great privileges and immunities for twenty-one years to all those, as well strangers as his own subjects, who would seat themselves in that place; by which means divers High and Low Dutch, Scotch, and others, as well as

Swedes, have built this town, and made many fair houses of brick, which yet seem not very substantial perhaps, by reason that the privileges were of no longer continuance; but this city is now fairly built for the most part of it, and full of trade and people, though it be not very large.

“It is well provided for churches, having two fair ones new built for the Lutherans, and another for the Dutch and Calvinists, which is no small privilege in those parts. It is well served with all sorts of commodities, and with good provisions, having the sea open.

“The government of the city is by three Presidents, whereof one yearly, by turn, is Burgomaster, like our mayors; the Syndic as our recorders; and a Council composed of twelve elected citizens, in the nature of our aldermen.

“This city is strong, and well fortified with works of earth cast up, and large ditches of water where the rocks will permit; the other parts of it are stronger, and more inaccessible by the rocks, which are difficult for one to pass and climb to view them.

“The bulwarks are strong and regular, as the lines are, and planted with store of brass cannon; besides which, the natural situation at the foot of a mountain of rocks, which make part of their works, and deep grafts, do render the place of great strength.

“A regiment of foot of about 1200 men is quartered in the town, under the Queen’s pay, which, in their habits and persons, are not unlike the English infantry; these, with the trained men of the city, which make up a considerable number of about 4000, are the garrison of the city, and are all commanded by the Landeshere.

“Near the town is a very great high rock, on which is a little grove of fir-trees and other trees; and from thence a lovely prospect on one side of the town, and likewise into Denmark and Norway, both within a mile of this town, parted by the river. Their great guns are all of copper, but are not very large, yet not the less useful.

The name Gothenburg signifies the fortress, or defence, of the Goths; and it is the first town of Gothland towards England, and the boundary this way of that ancient kingdom."

Whitelocke's people were busy in preparation for their journey. The Landeshere sent forth his warrants ^{Preparations for journey.} into the country for one hundred saddle-horses and one hundred waggons, to be brought in by break of day to Whitelocke's lodging; and the inferior officers, hoping for a gratuity for their pains, were the more diligent to execute them: and their order is so good, and the people's obedience so exact, that the commands are not disputed, but a short warning, as this was, is most readily and punctually obeyed.

The reason why so many waggons were warned in was because of the smallness of them, and the great quantity of baggage and provision which Whitelocke was necessarily to carry with him in his journey in a foreign country, not well inhabited, so many hundreds of miles as he was to go, and for his accommodation when he came to be settled; and herein he was advised by the magistrates and Syndic, and others of this place.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sinclair, who had been very civil and officious here to Whitelocke, obtained his letters to Colonel Overton, commander of the Parliament's forces in Scotland, to show favour to Sinclair's brother there, and was very full of thankfulness for it.

November 29, 1653.

Some of Welch's men coming to town, were stayed by the procurement of the Vice-Admiral, and brought before the Landeshere, who, having examined them, ^{Whitelocke protects Captain Welch.}

was pressed by Thysen to imprison them; but having more discretion and civility than Thysen, he did not commit them, but sent his major to Whitlocke, to know if he did own Captain Welch. Whitlocke answered, "that he did own Captain Welch as an Englishman, and one of his fleet, and now rode under his flag; and who, as he believed, had a command as a private man-of-war, by authority of the Parliament of England. And Whitlocke desired the Landeshere not to do anything in relation to Captain Welch, or any of his men, whereby to injure the right or honour of the Commonwealth of England, or to interrupt the intended proposals of amity between them and the Crown of Sweden, which he believed would not be well taken by the Queen; that he, being obliged to the Landeshere for his civilities, thought fit to give him this friendly caution in this business."

This answer being returned to the Landeshere, Thysen's plot was spoiled, and, to his great regret, Welch's men were presently dismissed.

Whitlocke
reports to
England;

Whitlocke, by letters, gave an account to the Council in England of all passages here, of his dismissal of their ships 18th November, and their being still detained by contrary winds; of the business of Captain Welch; of his letters to Prince Adolphus and the Chancellor, whereof he enclosed copies, and of the letter of this town to him about their ship detained as prize in England; of the great respect and civilities of the magistrates here to the Commonwealth and to their servant; upon which he moved the discharge of their ship, whereby he should have the more reputation in this country, and be the better enabled to do them service; of his intention of removal from hence, etc.

In the evening he ordered his steward to call for bills of his expenses here, and found them unreasonably high and dear, and the host's demands, like the Persian laws, unalterable, he highly resenting the least question of the smallest sum of his reckoning, his great privilege of cheating his guests ; and to be fully satisfied in his imperious demands was not all, his wife must be likewise contented, and a gratuity presented to her according to the quality of the guest and the time of his stay. An ambassador is most to be cozened by this Dutchman and others, and so was Whitelocke here ; yet his present to Mrs. Hostess was twenty rix-dollars, which was not over-gratefully, nor without some disdain, received.

and pays
his expenses
at Gothen-
burg.

He ordered his steward to see all the carriages loaded as soon as the waggons came in, and the gentleman of his horse to see all in his charge in readiness.

November 30, 1653.

Whitelocke gave to Noble, master of the 'Adventure,' a certificate that he had performed his voyage.

The Em-
bassy starts
for Upsal.

Early in the morning were come to Whitelocke's door a hundred waggons out of the country ; they were with four wheels, very small, and drawn by one horse apiece, or by two beasts or cows abreast. They will not hold above one large trunk, or two little ones, in a waggon ; they drive slowly, and the more slowly because many of their waggoners be women. There were also brought in by the country a hundred saddle-horses, which are small, and hard trotters ; whereof one may be the more sensible by reason of their saddles, which are large, almost like the French saddles for size and

shape, but far different for ease: they are made of wood, without any cover or stuffing, neither cloth, nor leather, nor anything upon them but he that strides the bare wood; yet they are so well made, that in riding they do not prove so hard as one would fear them to be. Their bits generally are a piece of a ram's horn, and their bridle a small hempen rope; their stirrup, a withe writhed together; and better could not be had, this being the equipage of that country, which did not afford better, and therefore these must content.

There was much confusion about the choice of horses, and loading the waggons, till Whitelocke gave directions therein to the gentleman of his horse, which were obeyed, and more quiet ensued. And as soon as the waggons were loaded, he appointed them to be sent away, with some of his servants to attend them, whom he ordered to be constantly with them, some between every division of the waggons, and the gentleman of his horse to bring up the rear of his train. His quartermaster, cooks, and butlers were sent before, to make provision at the *dorf* where he intended to lodge this night.

Takes leave
of the
authorities
in Gothen-
burg.

After the waggons were gone, the Superintendent, the Landeshere, the magistrates, Vice-Admiral, and military officers of the town came to Whitelocke to take their leaves of him, which was done with much respect and ceremony. The First President spake in Latin to Whitelocke, which in the English was to this effect:—

“Most excellent Lord Ambassador,

“The city of Gothenburg, whose servants we are, entreat your Excellence to excuse your ill reception, and want of accommodations in this place; for which we are heartily

sorry, and do acknowledge, that if her Most Serene Majesty our gracious Queen should be acquainted therewith, that she would be offended at it ; but we hope your Excellence will be pleased, if there shall be occasion, to testify our readiness in obedience to her Majesty's commands, to manifest all honour and respect to the free Commonwealth of England, and to your Excellence, their most noble and great Ambassador, whose gallant demeanour, wisdom, and affability hath so far won upon the magistrates and people of this town, that they shall ever be your Excellence's most faithful servants and honourers ; and heartily wish you a safe and prosperous journey, and success in all your undertakings."

To this Whitelocke answered in Latin, the English whereof was to this effect :—

" Most honoured Gentlemen,

" I return my hearty thanks to you, for your great respects and civilities to me and my company during our abode with you, whereof I shall acquaint her Majesty, and desire her to take notice of it, as a duty to her commands, and a respect to those whom she was pleased to have respected. I shall also acquaint my superiors herewith, who will take the respects done to their servant, as it was, as done to themselves. I wish this noble city all prosperity, and to my capacity shall be ready to do them service."

This company being gone, it was time to get on horseback. Whitelocke mounted upon his best horse, of excellent shape and mettle ; he had a rich saddle and pistols, himself habited in plain grey English cloth ; his other horse, being also very beautiful, and with a rich saddle and pistols, was led leer :* the rest of his English horses, besides those which the grooms rode, were mounted by his gentlemen, as many as there

The Ambassador's
equipage.

* [*Led leer*,—as we should now say, "in hand ;" the expression is evidently from the German *leer*, empty.]

were horses for ; the rest of his gentlemen and people rode upon the Swedish horses, so accoutred as before, and all had swords and pistols.

After the horsemen came Whitelocke's travelling-coach, being of blue velvet, with blue silk and silver fringe, and richly gilded ; it would hold eight persons, and was drawn by six bay English horses, of a good size for travel, and very handsome ; and two more of the same set of coach-horses were led by leer, for a supply if there should be occasion. In this coach he ordered Mr. Ingelo to ride, being sickly, and Colonel Potley, who was unwieldy to ride on horseback.

Last of all came the best coach, of crimson velvet, very richly embroidered with silk, and gilded, which cost above £400 : it was large enough to hold ten persons. It was drawn by six black English horses, large and very handsome, and two horses more of the same set were led by leer, if any of the other should fail to supply them : this coach he ordered to be drawn empty, and in the way they covered it. With the coaches went the grooms which did not wait on Whitelocke's person, and his laqueys went by his horse's side.

With Whitelocke rode the Landeshere and the Vice-Admiral, Colonel Nerne, Sinelair, the major, and other military officers, who accompanied Whitelocke on horseback part of his way.

The citizens
and gar-
rison salute
him.

The citizens put themselves in arms to the number of above two thousand, with muskets only, being in a garrison ; they and their officers appeared in their own persons, proper men and gallantly habited, and armed, and many of them had served in the wars abroad. They drew up in several divisions in the market-place,

and as Whitelocke rode through them, they saluted him with great civility, and with loud volleys of their shot. At the works were the garrison soldiers, about twelve hundred, all armed likewise with muskets only, and swords, as the citizens were, but of another mien and habit; they saluted Whitelocke with round volleys of small shot as he passed by them. From the bulwarks the cannoneers bade him adieu with discharging all their great guns, which roared a great while; and some of their complimental bullets came very near to Whitelocke as he rode, but, he supposed, not directed at him.

When he was come about an English mile from Gothenburg, the Landeshere and other officers took their leaves of him, and they parted with many compliments; the Syndic, by appointment of the magistrates, did attend him throughout his journey, to take care of his accommodations.

After these gentlemen were gone, Whitelocke took his coach for travel. The way was rough and stony, and in some places were deep precipices from the rocks; the bridges and ways had been newly repaired, by the Queen's commands to the governors, through whose precincts he was to pass. The country is very stony, uneven, and barren. At every quarter of a Swedish mile a post is set up, and in some places great stones, after the manner of the Romans, whose phrase was "Quot lapides?" (how many stones is it?) for "how many miles?"*

When they were come one Swedish mile, which is a stage, there were fresh horses and waggons ready,

* [The road taken by Whitelocke does not correspond with the present high-road from Gothenburg to Orebro.]

summoned in by warrants. The pay of a horse is about threepence of our money for a Swedish mile, and the hire of a waggon about three times the rate of a horse; and the country-people take the care of bringing back their own horses and waggons from every stage: and it is very difficult to persuade the boors to go one step further than one stage, and they will have their money beforehand for every stage before they set forward.

When they had changed their horses and waggons, they went on their journey, and travelled this day two Swedish miles, or leagues, which is about fourteen English miles; and was a great journey at this time of the year, the days being but about four hours in length of daylight: and Whitelocke came not to his quarters till above an hour after it was dark, and his waggons two hours after him.

His lodging was taken up at a little *dorf*, or village, called Leerum, which was very mean: himself lay in his field-bed, most of his people in straw; the meat was not good, the beer worse—exceeding strong and thick; their best refreshment was lusty fires, and their own cheerfulness, which Whitelocke increased what he could.

The Queen
sends to
meet
Whitelocke.

Mr. Berkman made great speed to return from the Court to meet Whitelocke, and to conduct him to the Queen, according to her commands: he rode in fifteen days near four hundred miles English; and this night, meeting Whitelocke at Leerum, he delivered to him his message and compliments from the Queen.

He told Whitelocke, that as soon as he came to Court he was admitted to her presence, who longed to discourse with him about the English Ambassador,

and said she hoped he was well arrived, because of Berkman's coming to her, who acquainted her that the Ambassador was well arrived at Gothenburg. The Queen said she was extreme glad of it, and thought herself much honoured by the Parliament of England in sending such an ambassador to her, of whose person and honour she had heard much commendation, and of his quality, and favour with the General Cromwell, which was a testimony of the great respect in sending him to her; and she took it kindly from Whitelocke to undertake such a long and dangerous voyage to see her; that she was only sorry she could not receive him at Upsal with that respect which she intended, and as at Stockholm, where she could have given him better entertainment; but wheresoever she was, she said, the Ambassador should be welcome to her.

Berkman said further, that the Queen inquired of him touching all particulars of himself, his person, discourse, family, train, and equipage; that she had ordered a house for him in Upsal, at her own charge, and furnished with her own furniture: and she commanded Berkman speedily to return, to wait on Whitelocke, and to see that he should want no accommodations in his journey.

Whitelocke told Berkman that the Commonwealth whom he served were much obliged to the Queen for her great favours to their servant, who was, in his own particular, highly engaged to her Majesty, and hoped shortly, through the blessing of God, to have opportunity to acknowledge it, with all thankfulness, to her Majesty's person; that he was also much obliged to Berkman for his extraordinary care and pains in this

long journey he had taken, and for affording White-locke his good company at sea, and now in his journey assisting him for his accommodations: for all which he promised to be grateful to Berkman, who was well pleased with that word; and so they went to their bad quarters.

DECEMBER.

December 1, 1653.

THE country, being commanded by their officers, came in here early this morning, and at every stage, which is commonly a Swedish mile, with fresh horses and waggons; and there being much trouble in the taking of horses, and the unloading and loading of waggons, and payment of the boors, Whitelocke entreated Mr. Berkman and the Syndic of Gothenburg to take upon them the care of that business, and to appoint some Swede to see to the unloading and loading of the waggons, and to the taking and paying them, and for the waggons and horses, which they readily undertook; and thereby saved much trouble to Whitelocke's people.

Journey
through
West Goth-
land.

Whitelocke was informed that not far from part of this day's journey lay Seonenland, part of the dominion of the King of Denmark; and the chief town, sometime the metropolis, of that country was called Lunenders, which was an archbishop's see; and from that town they fancy that the name of London was given to our metropolis by the Saxon and northern people, who come some of them out of these parts: but hereof will be larger mention, and the mistake shown elsewhere as there shall be occasion.

The country through which they travelled this day was of the same nature as the day before, only towards the end of the journey somewhat more plain and fruitful. He travelled this day two Swedish miles to a market-town, though a poor one, called Alingäs, where the quarter was somewhat better than the night before, but the people very exacting.

December 2, 1653.

This day's journey was through a better country and ways than before: they were much troubled to get carriages. But the gentleman of the horse, and Mr. Berkman, and the Syndic, took great pains about Whitelocke's business; so did a Swede, whom the Syndic brought with him, and was well paid for it, but no more employed, having been discovered to advise the host to raise the reckoning, and himself to have a share in it.

Their quarter this night was at a dorf called Shifda, the journey a Swedish mile and three-quarters: their provisions here little else but lean beef, boiled, roasted, broiled, and stewed, at which others were more apt to find fault than Whitelocke, who knew that his servants would have got better if it could have been had; but he was whispered that this beef was of a rotten cow that died in a ditch, and that other provision could not be got here. Whitelocke charged them not to speak of it, and to those that knew it not it went down savourily to good stomachs in cold weather after a long journey; he discovered it not, but ate of it as well as the rest, and made mirth of it afterwards.

His own lodging was in his field-bed, his people upon fresh straw.

December 3, 1653.

They had a very long journey of three Swedish leagues and a quarter, above twenty English miles, and daylight very short. The country was barren and stony, but the ways well mended. The weather was extreme cold, and hard frost, so that one of Whitelocke's pages, Hen. Elsing, by chance or play, having a fall in the house, did break his arm, as seldom any in the frosty weather had a fall without the breach of some limb. Dr. Whistler, who had good experience and skill in chirurgery as well as physic, here gave the first trial of his skill, set the page's arm very well, so that by bolsters and ordering of him he was able to endure riding in the coach; and rather chose to endure much pain than to stay behind his master, whom he saw so tender and careful of him and of all his fellow-servants.

A page
breaks his
arm.

The quarter this night was at a dorf called by them Wonga, extreme bad, and more beef (suspected of kin to the last) than any other meat; and whether that diet, or the hard and cold journey, might occasion it, was uncertain (but the doctor, who knew the diet, laid it upon that), Whitelocke was exceeding ill and feverish; but he took something that did him good, through the mercy of God, who gave him recovery of his health, and he endeavoured to cheer himself and his company in their hardships.

December 4, 1653.

The quarters having been so bad the last two nights, and Whitelocke himself and others of his company having been very ill, and fearing that the snow might

Proceed to
Skara.

fall and hinder his journey, he was advised, and so resolved, to go from Wonga two leagues this day, to a city called Skara, where he might rest the next day in better quarter, and his people have beds to lie on; and he hoped that these reasons would excuse his travelling on this day, being the Lord's Day; and indeed the provision and lodging were so very bad at Wonga, that he and his people could not have remained there all the Lord's Day without extreme hazard of their health, and, as some told him, of want of meat for his great company.

By the way, Dr. Whistler's man, with a fall from his horse, broke his leg. The doctor saw it well set again by the apothecary, and the man being a civil young man, his master was troubled for him, and so was Whitelocke, and offered to leave the apothecary and a servant to attend him and look to him if he would stay at Skara till he were well again to travel. But the man would by no means be persuaded to stay behind in this strange country, but chose rather to endure the greatest pain to go along with the company. Whereupon the doctor directed a carriage to be made of deal boards, in the fashion of a horse-litter, which was ingeniously done, and the man was laid upon a bed and straw in this litter, which was carried between two horses, and every morning sent before with the apothecary and two other men to go along with it, and at the journey's end, the litter being taken down, was set upon the ground in some room; and in this posture the poor man, in great torment, was carried above three hundred miles, and recovered very well again, to his master's credit, and was thankful to God for his goodness to him.

This night they came to Skara, where their lodging and entertainment was worse than they expected in a city, a bishop's see : yet here all his people had beds to lie on, such as they were, which was rare to them.

His carriages could not come up to him to Skara this night, but staid about a mile behind, in very bad quarter, the gentleman of his horse and others of his servants with them ; and the days were so very short that it was hard, especially for carriages, to travel two miles in one day.

December 5, 1653.

This day Whitelocke rested at Skara, his carriages not being come up to him, and to refresh himself, his people and horses, after weary and hard journeys. In the morning he visited the cathedral church, this being a bishop's see ; the church is large, and strong built of the country stone, but not beautiful or curious. Many scholars were with their masters in the church in upper galleries, singing anthems to the organ and sackbuts.

A halt at
Skara.

Here he saw a fair tomb of the Baron Soupe, who, in the German wars, rescued the King Gustavus Adolphus from being taken prisoner, which is engraven on his monument to his honour.

In the choir are many pictures of saints and other images ; and at the east end of it is a high altar, with a rich carpet of velvet embroidered with gold, and a stately crucifix upon it : there are also divers other and lesser crucifixes in several places of the church and choir. In the vestry he saw the chalices and pyxes, with pieces of the wafers in them ; and none

could see a difference betwixt this and the Papists' churches.

From the church Whitelocke went to the free-school hard by, which is a large room, and in it between three and four hundred scholars, and some of them at the upper end with great beards, of thirty years of age, yet as subject to the rod's correction if they offend as the young boys among whom they sit. It caused smiling to see the disproportion and gravity of these scholars in respect of the others. Many of them are choristers, and did in the school make the same vocal music as in the church, louder than ordinary, but not sweeter or more skilful.

This is called a city, because it is a bishop's see, and is very ancient, though probably short of that which the schoolmaster affirmed: "That a Goth, a servant to Abraham, married one of Sarah's maids, and brought into his own country; and being grown rich, he built a city in this place, and gave his wife the naming of it, who, in honour of her mistress, called it Sarah, and by the people's rough pronounciation is now called Skara." Others, and as probably, derive the name of it from the Swedish word *schire* or *schare*, which with them signifies a territory or province; and that this, being the head city of the territory about it, was therefore called, as the shire town, Schara; and from this Gothic word *schire* some derivation may be of our English word *shire*, anciently written also *schire*, for a territory or country.

This town seems to have been very ancient, especially by the buildings, which are in much decay, though large; they are of timber, after the fashion of that country. It hath no river nor way of commerce

for the enriching of it; and though it be as the bishop's residence sometimes, there can be no great advantage of profit to the city if, as is affirmed, his revenue there be not above forty rix-dollars (that is, ten pounds) a year. The people are generally very poor, and divers of them very churlish. The city stands in a pleasant fertile country, and hath been large, and, as they report, considerable.

The minister and schoolmaster here spoke Latin, ^{The orphans of Skara.} but not elegantly, hardly truly; yet they ventured at it in discourse with Whitelocke, who invited them to his table, and civilly treated them. Nor do the scholars much profit in the Latin tongue, as may appear by their petitory epistle, which this evening they presented to Whitelocke in these words:—

“*Salutem et Dei benedictionem !*

“*Generosissime, serenissime, atque nobilissime Domine Princeps, te celeberrimæ regione nimirum Angliæ natus, quem celeritatem Deus ter. opt. max. una cum suo pio et laudabili comitatu benigne tam in aditu quam reditu custodire atque benedicere dignetur. Siquidem Deo omnipotenti suo placida atque divina voluntate placuit, nobis præsentibus in primæ nostræ infantia parentibus privare: et interim quæ nobis necessaria atque ad sustentationem vitas spectant, à piis atque probis hominibus quærenda sunt; quapropter ad serenissimum atque generosissimum Principem nostra est devota atque humillima petitio, ut nobis aliquid pecuniæ benigne dare dignetur.*

“*Deus omnipotens omnium beneficiorum retributor atque benefactor est, ejus protectionis V. S. cum toto suo comitatu commendare volumus.*”

The English whereof may be thus guessed at:—

“Health and the blessing of God!

“Most generous, most serene, and most noble Lord and

Prince, who is born in the most famous country, to wit England, to whom God the most good and great mereifully vouchsafe to keep and bless with his pious and commendable company, as well in their coming hither as in their departure. Whereas it pleased God Almighty, in his pleasure and Divine will, to deprive us who are here present of our parents in our first infancy; and in the meanwhile those things that were necessary for us, and pertained to the sustenance of our lives, were to be sought by us from godly and honest men :

“Wherefore our devout and most humble petition is, to the most serene and most generous Prince, that he would courteously vouchsafe to give us some money. Almighty God is the rewarder of all benefits, and a benefactor to whose protection we will commend your Serenity, and all your company.”

They were prodigal enough in their titles, hoping to procure the more liberality from him, who little esteemed them, yet gave a reward to the presenters of this epistle, who acknowledged it to have been corrected by their master : and Whitelocke wondered that in a free public school, in a city which was a bishop's see, they had not better Latin, when generally in other places the noblemen, gentlemen, magistrates, and officers do write and speak good Latin ; but this town is not an usual road, nor much frequented.

Whitelocke ordered the gentleman of his horse, with his company, to go this evening with the carriages about a mile from this town forward in the journey, which was long as he intended next day.

December 6, 1653.

This day Whitelocke travelled three Swedish miles, the country being somewhat plainer than before, yet

full of great stones and fir-trees, but little corn-land, being entered into the great forest. They came before night to a dorf called Bineberg, where their lodging and diet was extreme bad, and most of the provision cow lean beef, cut out in pieces, and fried, roasted, and boiled, and, as it was here again whispered to Whitelocke, the cow was rotten, and died in the field; but better food could not be gotten, and this went down with good and keen appetites.

Whitelocke's steward came very late hither, and informed the occasion of his staying behind to be, that after Whitelocke was gone from Skara, the steward, and one or two more with him, coming forth to follow their master, they were imprisoned, and the inn-doors shut upon them, and could not have liberty to come out until they had paid ten rix-dollars more than the reckoning; and the only reason thereof was, because the surly host would have it so.

White-
locke's
steward
detained at
Skara.

Whitelocke was so incensed hercat, as a breach of his privilege of Ambassador, that he told Berkman and the Syndic he would go no further till he had right against this innkeeper, and that he would send to the Court to advertise the Queen of this injury done to him. But he was pacified with their information that the innkeeper had been already by the magistrates of the city severely punished for his insolence.

The best meat they had in this country was pork and bacon, if they could have got enough of it. Their hogs are less than those in England, and of a wild kind, and black, feeding most upon pine-apples; their flesh is very sweet and good, but little of it was here to be had, nor of their hares, though in most parts they have great plenty of them, and they are moister

and larger than those in England ; and, which could hardly receive credit but from those who saw it, as Whitelocke did and his company, when the snow comes, the hares change their colour in a short time, and become themselves as white as the snow ; yet, in summer, they change again to the ordinary colour of our hares in England.

December 7, 1653.

Passes Lake
Mälaren.

This day's journey was five Swedish miles, about thirty-five of our English miles, yet seemed the shorter, because the way was very good : the country marvelled at so long a journey taken by strangers when the days were so short and the company so great. They passed through huge woods of fir, wherein are said to be great store of wolves and bears.

Here is melancholy travelling without company ; for in most of this country hitherto, one shall seldom meet with a crossway in riding a league or two together, so little commerce is in these parts, and so little danger of going out of the way, where there is but one way to travel in.

In this journey they met with one extreme bad piece of way on the side of a rock cut out by men's hands, not two foot broader than the track of his coach : on the right hand was nothing but craggy huge rocks hanging over them, twenty or thirty fathom to the top of them ; and on the left hand of this way was a steep precipice, fifty or sixty fathom down to the lake Mälaren, which was at the foot of it, and no way possible for them to avoid this track and to go out of it. Whitelocke caused his people to alight and walk on foot, leading their horses till they were

past it, not being a mile in length, and some he causes to walk by the coaches; and had not his coachman and postilions been their art's masters, and of mettle, they could hardly have been able to drive a coach in that way. But God was pleased here, as in all the journey, to preserve and bless Whitelocke and all his company.

This lake Mälaren appeared as a great and wide sea, and indeed was so, though of fresh water. The people affirm that in it are 4444 islands, the least of them above an English mile in compass, and inhabited. Certain it is, that this lake is above a hundred English miles in breadth, and the islanders have communication by boats, sailing to one another and to the shore. Their dwellings are not healthful, being often afflicted with terrible agues, which continue long, and commonly take the people in the spring; and yet most of them, especially to those who are not natives, prove mortal.

But on the banks of the lake are many pleasant seats of noblemen and gentlemen, which they say are very healthful, and furnished with abundance of provisions of fish and fowl, and they have great delight in taking of them. Some of those seats Whitelocke viewed, and found their building to be only of fir timber, the bodies of great trees squared and laid one upon another, keyed together by other great pieces of timber, all set upon huge stones about a foot from the ground. Between the bodies of the trees which make the wall of the house, is great store of moss forced in, like the caulking of a ship, which keeps out the sun, and makes the rooms cool in summer, and, keeping out the frost and cold air, makes them

the more warm in winter. The roof is of deal boards jointed close together, and laid a little sloping, upon which they put pieces of the bark of birch-trees to cover it, and the bark they cover with turf, and lay them as flat as a roof is made with lead. The bark keeps the wet from soaking through the boards, and bears out the rain and melting of the snow, and the wet glides down the bark to the eaves and so falls on the ground, and is not inferior to any roof of flats or tile. Upon it grows good grass from the turf, which invites the sheep and goats to clamber to the top of it and to feed on it, which they may the easier do, because their buildings and stories are generally very low, seldom more than two stories in height ; and many of those buildings, almost whole towns together, have no mortar, lime, stone, tile, or brick in the building of them, except only in their stoves and chimneys.

Whitelocke's carriages, by reason of some disasters and breaking of waggons, were out all night ; and such was the honesty of the waggoners and country people that, in all the journey, he lost not any of his goods to the value of sixpence, except a great glass of tobacco ; and although in one place his iron trunk of money broke, and the half-crowns, which were money current there, dropped out, yet were they all again restored to Whitelocke's servants.

This and the two last days' journeys were through the great forest or wilderness called Valterd, which they affirm to be forty leagues, that is, three hundred English miles in length, and about seventy miles in breadth. Whitelocke was three days travelling over the narrowest part of it, and contented with hard

quarter, there being only a few huts or cabarets, but no dorfs or towns in all that way.

December 8, 1653.

It is full of goodly fir-trees, exceeding tall and straight, and the way broad and sandy; the trees on each side thick for many miles together, and, smelling of the turpentine, make a most sweet and pleasant walk and riding. Great destruction is made of those woods by the inhabitants near adjoining; it being a piece of husbandry among them to burn great quantities of wood standing upon the ground, and then cast some seed-corn among the ashes, without any ploughing or other manuring, whereof they have commonly one good crop, and no more. Such is their plenty of wood, that very many large timber-trees lie and rot upon the ground, and the inhabitants will not bestow the pains of fetching them away.

Forest of
Valterd.

There be also in this forest trees which they call *birk*, that is, birch-trees; and others which they call *aish*, that is, ash; others which they call *eukes*, that is, oaks; from whence it may seem that we had these names of our trees. But their oaks are not so solid and hard as ours, nor so fit for shipping; their oaken planks, as most others in the world, are apt to splinter by a bullet shot into them, which the English oak doth not, nor soak in the water as oaks of other countries do. Their oaks here are so far from any navigable river, that they are of little benefit to the country.

Their calculation of 20,000 wolves, besides a great number of bears and other wild beasts in this forest,

may well be mistaken ; those cattle, and in so wide a forest, not being easily to be numbered.

This night their quarter was at a burgh called Boderne, where one of Whitelocke's chaplains, Mr. Ingelo, visited the minister's house, a very mean one, and his family in as mean a condition, his children in torn shirts, and no other clothes upon them in that bitter cold weather, and his wife little better furnished. This and sundry the like observations in the journey, may cause our ministers and others to be the more in love with their own country.

Here they had better provisions than in other places ; excellent pork and hares, and a little bird called a yerpen, of bigness between a partridge and a pigeon, white and firm of flesh, and in taste beyond a partridge for delicacy.

Most of their lodging was in good straw, which is bigger and longer than that in England.

December 9, 1653.

A Gentle-
man of the
Queen's
Chamber
meets
White-
locke.

This day's journey was four leagues and a half, still through the forest, whose colour, all green with the pines and fir-trees, would almost persuade a traveller that it was another season, did not the bitter cold assure the contrary.

About half a mile before the end of the journey, Potley, in his return from Court, met Whitelocke on the way, and with him came a gentleman of the Queen's chamber, well habited and fashioned, called Mr. Lyllicrone. Whitelocke came forth of his coach to salute him, and the gentleman spoke to Whitelocke in French to this effect :—that he was sent by

the Queen to visit Whitelocke on the way, to inquire of his health in his journey, to attend him to Upsal, and to take care that he should want no accommodations in his journey.

Whitelocke answered, that he hoped ere long to have the happiness of being in her Majesty's presence to return his thanks for the great favour and honour she was pleased to manifest to him, whereof he should take the first opportunity to certify the Parliament; and that his journey would be the more pleasant by the company of so noble a person as he was.

The gentleman then told Whitelocke, that Prince Adolphus presented his service to him with these letters, which he then delivered to Whitelocke, who then opened and read them.

The letter is thus put into English.

“To the Most Excellent Ambassador of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

“Most Excellent Lord Ambassador,

“The letters were delivered unto me by which your Excellence was pleased to signify your arrival at Gothenburg, with a hope of meeting our Most Serene Queen there, and of performing the duty of the embassy imposed on you; but now being frustrate of that hope, and not knowing where to apply himself to the Most Serene Queen, as his commission and employment do require, he therefore expected to be certified from me, whither he should apply himself. That I might satisfy this desire of your Excellence, I acquainted our Most Serene Queen with that which your Excellence did hereupon communicate unto me; and truly the coming of so great an Ambassador, and his voyage performed with so prosperous success, did affect her Most Serene Royal Majesty with no small joy; and therefore she commanded me to take care for the reception of your Excellence, and to certify you, that you might

take your journey to Upsal. To this end I have sent this gentleman, a servant of the Court of her Most Serene Majesty, to meet your Excellence, that he, knowing the language, might guide your journey, and provide things necessary for it. In the meantime, from the goodness of your Excellence, I promise myself your excuse if the condition and state of the places through which you travel will not admit that entertainment which is fit for the Ambassador of so great a Commonwealth; but having finished your journey, when your Excellence shall come to this place, all endeavour will be used, that the inconveniences which your Excellence hath suffered in this journey may with all kind of honour be repaired. In the meantime I wish your Excellence a happy journey.

“Your Excellence’s most ready to serve you,

“ADOLPHUS JOHN,

“Count Palatine of the Rhine.

“*Upsal, November 28, 1653.*”

December 10, 1653.

The
Embassy
reaches
Orebro.

Having read the letters, Whitelocke invited Mr. Lyllicrone to take a room in his coach; but he excused it, and rode on horseback. By the way one of Whitelocke’s gentlemen, Mr. Castle, received a dangerous hurt in his forehead, by the kick of a horse, to the great danger of breaking his skull. Whitelocke took Dr. Whistler with him, and went to visit Castle at a boor’s house, whither he was carried: there Whitelocke saw him dressed with medicaments out of his own cabinet, which was always with him, put Mr. Castle into one of his coaches, and so went on to a burgh called Blacksta, where they had reasonable good quarter.

This day’s journey was two Swedish leagues, to a

city called Orsborough (Orebro), the largest town and best quarter which they had hitherto met with. The house where Whitelocke lay was very fine in furniture, the master of it being wealthy ; for he had been an officer of the Crown about the mines, for the business whereof, and the commerce and disposing of the copper, this city is conveniently seated, being near the mountains where the mines are, and having the benefit of navigable waters. Before the house was a guard of soldiers, of a company of the Queen's regiment of guards, quartered here by reason of the sickness at Stockholm ; some of these soldiers were placed at the lodging of Whitelocke, as an honour to him, yet probably not without the expectation of a gratuity from him.

Here Whitelocke received the first packet of letters from England, since his coming from thence, about five weeks after the date of the letters ; and they came the sooner, by Mr. Lagerfeldt, who posted by land, and left the packet in this town the last night, with a servant of Whitelocke's, whom he met here, sent before to make provisions from his master. Letters
from
England.

Whitelocke was not a little rejoiced to receive letters from his private friends, of the health and welfare of his wife and family. He had also letters from the Secretary of the Council, Mr. Thurloe, wherein, amongst other things, it was thus said :—

“ I should have been glad of all opportunities to manifest the just sense I have of all the many obligations your Lordship hath laid upon me, and to have assured you of my constant and diligent attendance upon everything which might concern you, and your present embassy, wherein I wish your Excellence honour and good success. I have

herein sent a character, by which your Excellence may correspond with the Council, in things of secresy, or signify your commands to your servant, which, I hope, will come safe to your hands unseen."

Then he gave him an account of the proceedings in England in the Dutch treaty: but Whitelocke marvelled that the character should be sent after him, and by a public minister of that Crown to which he was employed, and neglected to be given him before his coming away; but he was glad to receive it, and made much use of it.

December 11, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke rested in this town of Orebro, and had two very good sermons preached by his chaplains in his lodging, which the people much approved, and wished they could have understood our preaching.

Meets the
son of Sal-
masius.

There came to his table the captain of the company here quartered, whose carriage being somewhat scornful, Whitelocke inquired what he was, and learnt that he was the son of Salmasius, who wrote the book of 'Defensio Regis' against the Parliament's proceedings; and his son at dinner began to discourse liberally upon that argument; but Whitelocke silenced him, yet was sparing in delivery of any opinion in that business, but declared it to be too high for his judgement, or for the judgement of this young captain.

In this city is a castle belonging to the Crown, encompassed with waters, but neither large nor beautiful, or of much defence; in it is also a stable for about one hundred horse, wherein Whitelocke had the favour to have his horses stand.

December 12, 1653.

This day's journey was three Swedish leagues, to a burgh called Fitzborough, where was very bad quarter; and it was hard duty, after long travel upon such horses and furniture as is before described, in bitter cold weather, and for the most part in the night-time, the days being not above four hours long, to come to bad diet and a bed of straw; but they were contented, because better could not be had in those places. Hardships
of the road.

Upon the way, there fell out a kind of mutiny among Whitelocke's people; some of them, tired and sore with their hard horses and saddles, grumbled at their bad accommodations. Whitelocke, to appease them, alighted from his coach, called the gentleman who first began the disturbance and complained of his being ill, caused him to alight and go in Whitelocke's room into his coach, and Whitelocke mounted on the Swedish horse, and in that furniture and equipage rode along with the rest of his company, drolling and partaking with them in their hardships; which, with his gentle usage of the offender, gave more satisfaction than severity at such a time would have done to his people.

At supper, with more beef, one of his servants told Whitelocke that they could get no other provision but the quarters of a beast which, he said, was found dead in the field. Whitelocke commended the variety and the dressing of this meat, and it went down with good stomachs, and made good meat afterwards to taste the sweeter, besides the delight in remembrance of it.

In their great room of lodging, he caused his field-bed to be set up, and the gentlemen lay in fresh straw round about him, he being frolic, and cheering them;

and it is no small piece of the art of government to know when to be familiar, and when a fit distance is to be observed. He commanded that they should want nothing that was to be had, and the plenty of fuel was no small comfort to them at that season.

December 13, 1653.

They were early ready to part from their ill quarter, and travelled two Swedish leagues and a half, to a town called Köping. The country which they passed was fuller of corn than formerly, with some small meadows in the bottoms. The manner of fencing their arable lands is with a dry picked hedge, made of great and long fir poles, stuck in the ground thick, and bound together with withes, wherewith they enclose a large piece of ground, after they have sowed it; and at harvest-time they break it up again, and burn it; but for green or quick hedges none are to be seen in three hundred miles together. Their winter corn is early sowed, that it may get up before the frost comes, with the which, or not long after, commonly the snows do fall, which cover the green corn, and keep it warm, and the ground mellow, and kill the weeds; and at the Spring, the thaw comes and dissolves it, and the corn comes to ripen strangely in a short time.

The Parlia-
ment of
England
said to be
insulted at
Köping.

Here complaint was made to Whitelocke, that the Prætor of the town denied his assistance to procure quarters for Whitelocke's people, and gave ill language of the Parliament: that they had killed their king, and were a company of tailors and cobblers. Whitelocke showed high distaste at these speeches, and professed to the Swedish gentleman with him, that he would

have satisfaction of the Prætor, and the honour of the Parliament vindicated ; wherein he was resolved to try the respects of her Majesty to his superiors, which he doubted not but she would manifest by an exemplary punishment of this reproach. The Swedish gentlemen presently fetched the Prætor, who is the second officer, like our sheriff, and the Consul, who is the head officer, like our mayors of the town. Whitelocke made them wait long ere he would speak with them ; and at length, when he highly expostulated with them, they wept very much, but indeed were before half-drunk for sorrow.

The Prætor absolutely denied the words charged upon him ; but affirmed that he spake only to this purpose :—What lies do the Holland gazettes tell us, when they say the Parliament are a company of tailors and cobblers, when you see what gallant fellows they are by their Ambassador ! What a brave gentleman he is, how nobly attended ; what a number of gallant persons waiting upon him, above a hundred in his company ! and he protested that he loved and honoured the Parliament of England and London with all his heart.

The Mayor
denies the
imputation.

The like was attested by the Consul, who, for proof thereof, said that he had read Milton's book,* and liked it, and had it at home. In conclusion, after many protestations, and much mediation, and store of wine presented, and for the most part drunk by the magistrates, they and Whitelocke were reconciled and became kind friends, and they and their under

[* Milton's 'Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Claudii anonymi alias Salmasii Defensionem Regiam;' published in the preceding year, 1652.]

officers were very serviceable to Whitelocke and his company.

In discourse with the Prætor, Whitelocke extolled the dignity of his office, second in the city, and his jurisdiction something like that of the Roman prætor ; which this officer was well pleased to hear.

To the Consul, Whitelocke commended the wisdom of their law in providing such a head officer for the government and peace of the town, and the wisdom of the people in choosing so able a man to be their chief officer under the Queen ; who, as he had the Roman name of the office, so within his precinct, as Whitelocke had learnt, did not much come short of consular authority, which this Consul agreed, with much liking. From them Whitelocke also learnt another appellation of a chief magistrate of his company or fellowship, whom they call *aldryman*,—that is, with them, an ancient, or elderman, or elder ; and he is the chief or head of his company, and hath a kind of power and jurisdiction over the rest, and is in effect the same which, anciently and at this day, we call our aldermen.

December 14, 1653.

The high-
ways of
Sweden.

This day's journey was three Swedish leagues and a quarter ; the way was very good, and it was very much to the cheering of Whitelocke and his company, in so long a journey, a time of so much hard weather, and where other accommodations were wanting, to find generally so good highways.

The Queen was pleased to command her officers in the several provinces where Whitelocke was to pass, that the highways should be amended ; and such care

was taken, that hardly any country affords better ways than these, though in some places very mountainous, and several desperate precipices down to great lakes, and but a very narrow track to pass there, and with great danger. But generally the ways are hard and even, and if at any time broken, the particular officers for that purpose do summon the inhabitants, and forthwith cause the ways to be sufficiently repaired. In low places they use to cast up a causeway, large and high in the middle, with a sloping and fall on each side, where they make ditches to receive the water, which falls from either side of the causeway into them; and the way is filled with stones, yet even, and in places which require it conveyances are made with trunks of timber, laid cross the way underground, to pass the water and keep the way from bogs. The highways are the better preserved, because they do not permit any heavy carriages to pass on them; no waggon is suffered to go with above one or two horses, or beasts, to draw it, and therefore cannot so much wear and tear the ways as where heavy carriages break them.

Their officers for the highways are not like ours in England, where two poor men in every parish are chosen for overseers of them, who, favouring their neighbours and themselves more than intending the business, seldom do much good in it; but these Swedish officers are constant for that service, and, like the Romans' *curatores viarum publicarum*, have the charge and care of looking to the public ways that they be kept in repair, and upon any default presently amended; for which end, they have power to cause the inhabitants in their precinct who are fit to work that

they labour in their persons, and others to contribute by their purses.

Arrive at
Westeräs.

They quartered this night at a city called Westeräs, the largest that they had passed upon the confines of Gothland, fair and well built; and at the end of it was such another castle as that of Orebro, belonging to the Crown. The head officer here was a consul, or mayor, who, with several of the magistrates or aldermen, did speak good French and Latin (something rare to those who came from England); and they were very civil and gentle in their deportment to Whitelocke and his company. This city is the more considerable and wealthy by a navigable river from hence to Stockholm, conveying great quantities of copper and iron, digged out of the mines upon the mountains about two leagues from the town; from whence the rich commodities are brought by land-carriage to this city, and from hence by water to their chief port and city of Stockholm. Here were also guards, very officious to Whitelocke, and he liberal to them; and the quarter here was very good, but the people exacting.

December 15, 1653.

Proceed to
Enköping.

A gentleman, who was secretary to his Royal Highness the Prince Palatine, prince-heretier to the Crown, passing by this country, and hearing that Whitelocke was expected at Westeräs, the secretary staid to give him a visit, and passed divers compliments upon him, in the name of the prince, his master: to whom Whitelocke desired the secretary to present his service, and that he hoped to gain an opportunity to wait upon his Kingly Highness before he left this country.

The Syndic of Gothenburg proceeded this morning from Westerås to the Court, to give them advertisement of Whitelocke's being come so far on his journey.

This day Whitelocke travelled three Swedish leagues to a burgh called Enköping, where was dusty and bad quarter, and the baggage not come up to him for want of horses, which neglect was believed to be wilful, to occasion Whitelocke's longer stay by the way; which the Swedish gentlemen, his conductors, desired, but not discovered in plain terms until this evening, when a post came to them with letters from the Court, from the Grand Master, Prince Adolphus, which they imparted to Whitelocke, to this effect:—

“That the Queen and her Court were astonished that the English Ambassador was advanced so far in his journey, with such a train, in so short a time. That her Majesty was glad of his safe arrival so far; and, in regard that she was desirous to give him such a reception and entertainment as might testify her respects to the Commonwealth of England, for the which preparations were not yet ready, her Majesty desired that Whitelocke would repose himself in this place until Monday next (this being Thursday), and then to come to a gentleman's house half-way from Enköping to Upsal, which the Grand Master had appointed to be provided for him; and that Tuesday would be a convenient time for his entry into Upsal.”

A message
from the
Queen.

This signification of the Queen's desire was a sufficient ground for Whitelocke's resolution to stay here till Monday; and by a messenger with letters from the gentleman of his horse, he was certified that the boors in this part of the country were more churlish than in other parts, and would not bring in horses and waggons to bring up the carriages for which he desired orders might be sent, and the Swedish gen-

tlemen with Whitelocke took order for it. And Whitelocke wrote to his gentleman of the horse at Quarna, where he was, ordering him not to come from the carriages, but to bring them up to Enköping as soon as he could get accommodations, yet not to make more than ordinary haste, because Whitelocke resolved to stay here till Monday.

The weather was hard and frosty, yet very clear and fair; Whitelocke was ill and much indisposed, but God was pleased to support and recover him.

December 16, 1653.

Enköping.

Whitelocke viewed this town, and found it not very large or beautiful, either for buildings or situation, but much decayed and wanting trade, and is situate in a low ground, the same river from Westerås passing by it, and fertile land about it.

It is the first town they came to out of Gothland, Gothenburg being the confines eastward, and Westerås westward, of that ancient kingdom of Gothland, which is divided into Westro-Gothland next to Norway, and Eastro-Gothland next to Upsal. These countries of West Gothland and East Gothland are very large, and indifferently well peopled, and were the seat and habitation of the ancient Goths, from whom the name of Gothland comes; the Germans call it Gotland, and the word *Got* and *Gut* with them, and in Swedish, signifies good, and is used sometimes for God.

A great part of this land is a good and fertile country, considering the climate; and although the inhabitants of it at present are not numerous, yet in former times it was so fruitful of people that vast numbers of

them left their country as overstocked, and planted themselves in the best and most countries of Europe ; of whom it is said, that “ the Goths, a cruel people, anciently subdued Italy by arms,” and laid Rome herself even with the ground. But Pasquier vindicates the Goths from this calumny of barbarism ; shows their polity and civility and justice not to be inferior to the Romans themselves, and that reproaches were cast upon them by the pens of those whom they had vanquished by their swords. Gothofred gives them also their due honour and faith : “ they could not bow themselves to idleness and pleasures,” but, leaving their own country, they invaded and subjugated most parts of Europe, and Italy itself, where they a long time had dominion, and the memory of them will not easily be blotted out.

Their laws teach us that they were not barbarous ; and their characters for writing, which were most ancient, do inform us, “ that this nation did join the glory of learning with their knowledge of military affairs ;” and, as it is noted of our ancient British women, so it is said of the Gothish, “ that in war they used to go together into the army, and to mingle themselves as men in the ranks of those that fought.”

Whitelocke saw many of their women holding an \ driving the plough, driving their waggons, rowing their boats, and in other employments more usual and fit for men than for that sex, and it was common with them.

December 17, 1653.

Whitelocke learned the manner of administration of ^{Adminis-} justice in the country and towns hereabouts, and in ^{tration of} justice.

this kingdom, to be thus:—"They have in every great town in the several precincts, justice administered at their own homes, with several appeals from inferior to superior judicatories; and the last is to their Supreme Public Council, like our Parliament: but hereof Whitelocke had occasion to inquire more particularly afterwards, and from better hands."

He learnt also that in these countries they have an officer of justice whom they call a Lagevard, Laverd, and Lovard, according to their several idioms. *Lage* in their language, as in the Saxon, signifies law, and *vard* or *ward*, a guardian or keeper; so *lagevard* or *loverd* is a warden or keeper of the law, a judge. The same word *loverd* we find in Bede, and in many Saxon manuscripts, used for lord; and, by contraction and pronounciation, from *lagevard* and *loverd* may easily come the word lord.

December 18, 1653.

Letters
from
England.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke had two very good sermons preached by his chaplains in his own lodging. Mr. Clavering, an English merchant residing at Stockholm, came to Whitelocke to Enköping, and brought to Whitelocke two packets of letters, which came from England by the ordinary post to Stockholm, and brought joy to Whitelocke and to many of his company, to hear from their relations. Among the letters to Whitelocke was one from his wife, full of sadness and affection, and desire to come to him, and praying him to send for her; wherein she saith, "I cannot but admire at God's goodness that I am yet alive: my sadness increaseth every day, so that I can do little

else but weep night and day. Your going cost me many sad complaints before it came ; but since, I am not able to express my grief. I could willingly do or suffer any hardship to be with thee. I cannot but envy the meanest servant in thy house, for I would willingly do their work so that I might enjoy thy good company. The Lord keep you in safety, and fill you with His Spirit, and make you walk in close communion with Himself, so that you bring much glory to His name, which will be a greater honour unto you than if you should enjoy all this world. Oh let the name of God be called upon in your family, and do you and your family serve the Lord, which is the daily prayer of—”

By this packet he also received letters from Mr. ^{Despatches from} Thurloe, acquainting him with the passage of the ^{Thurloe.} Portugal Ambassador's brother and his company murdering a man at the 'Change, and their mad fury, for which they were executed. He acquainted Whitelocke also with the particulars of the Dutch treaty, the orders of the Council touching Swedish ships taken for prizes, and discharges for some of them ; with the business of Scotland, Ireland, France, Spain, and a perfect and full intelligence of all affairs, both foreign and domestic, relating to England, or to Whitelocke's negotiation ; which were of great use and advantage to Whitelocke in his treaty, and gave testimony of Mr. Thurloe's faithfulness to the public and affection to his friend.

He had also intelligence of designs by some of the King's party to kill him, and it came from no slight ^{Suspected designs against} hands. And this they said : “ Whitelocke must have ^{White-} great fortune if he escape Dorislaus' and Ascham's ^{locke.}

fate, for there are three in Sweden already (two of them have been used to such sport) that will attempt him, and have designed to kill him ; and if they miss, there are those that will go over in the ships with him that may do Whitelocke that friendly office.”

For confirmation whereof, although Whitelocke had given strict orders not to admit any without his warrant into any of his ships, yet there was a proper lusty fellow who got into the horse-ship, pretending with much diligence to help about the horses when the grooms were sick ; and being come on shore, Whitelocke was informed of him, and that there was cause to suspect him. Whitelocke caused his eldest son to take this fellow to be his servant, to use him very kindly, and thereby to work upon him, and by what means he could to endeavour to get out of him his purpose and designs against his father ; however, by having the man constantly about him, he might have the more careful eye over him, and be the more at hand to prevent any mischief from him.

Whitelocke himself also used the fellow with more than ordinary favour, as his son's man ; but nothing could work upon him to make a particular confession of his own designs, but intimated enough of others, and a change as to his purposes against Whitelocke, which, that they were of mischief, his own more particular confession to one of his most intimate consorts, and his running away in the journey, did confirm, fearing that Whitelocke would have secured him and proceeded against him. But the Lord was Whitelocke's defence, and in this and many other dangers was his shield and protection.

December 19, 1653.

Whitelocke travelled two Swedish leagues of long and bad way, the weather bitter cold and hard frost, and much of the way ice, for which his horses were purposely shod by a smith and farrier, which he took along with him ; yet his English horses, unacquainted with so much ice, had many falls ; and one of the horses of his coach in which he rode slipped upon the ice and fell down and broke his neck, and never fed afterwards, so that he found the convenience of having coach-horses led here in such a journey, with one of which he presently supplied his own coach ; and it was a great preservation that no more of his horses, nor any one of his people, was hurt in that day's journey.

Severity of
the wea-
ther.

Though he went forth early, yet he came not till within night to his quarter, which was a gentleman's house taken up for him. It was the fairest he had been in through the journey. It was built of stone, high and large, and covered with copper, which manifested the father of the owner to have had a beneficial employment as an officer about the mines. The hall, dining-room, and others of like use, were large and well-fashioned, but were two pair of stairs high, according to the usage in this country, where their chief chambers and rooms of entertainment are generally not as those in England, below stairs, but are one or two stories high ; and here they were so, and full of windows, and very cold, most of the floors not boarded, but paved with stone or brick ; and the English, unaccustomed to such piercing cold weather, were the more sensible of it in this place.

Entertained
in a gen-
tleman's
house.

The provisions here were good and plentiful, as

Whitelocke found, in payment for them. The greatest trouble was to get stable-room and horse-meat. And Whitelocke ordering the gentleman of his horse to see that he had before he came in : after much trouble and pains taken by the gentleman of the horse, with hard shift, they got room and meat for the horses, to which business they were not accustomed, themselves usually travelling upon the country horses, which at the end of every stage are brought home by the owners.

The master of the house kept Whitelocke company, giving him information of the country, and of the nobility and gentry inhabiting thereabouts, and of the Government, whereof there will be occasion to discourse elsewhere.

The house was indifferently well seated, the country not unfruitful nor unpleasant about it : plenty of provision of fish and fowl, but no great variety. Not far from it was much water and marsh ground, but now all hard with the frost.

Law of
inheritance
in Sweden.

The gentleman of the house excused his want of household stuff and accommodations, in regard his father was lately dead, whereupon his goods (according to the law of that country) were divided among all his children, which is like the custom in London, York, and other places in England. Here the lands are also divided among the children, both sons and daughters, each hath a share ; and is not unlike the custom of gavelkind in England, which may reasonably enough be supposed (as many other of our customs that may be mentioned hereafter) to have had their original from this people. This succession of estates hath a certain and general course upon the death of the parent. His chief house goes to the

eldest son, and an equal share besides of the goods and lands. Every other son hath a like equal share of the goods and lands, and every daughter hath half the share of a son. Nor is it in the power of the father to alter it, either by deed or will, except in some cases of his purchase; but after a descent, the estates are thus partible. If the possessor have no issue, he then hath power of alienation in his lifetime; but the purchaser of those lands hath no confirmation or assurance of his estate until one year be passed after the sale of the lands, because in that time the next-of-kin to the seller may come in, and, laying down the purchase-money contracted for, he shall have the land to him and his heirs, as the first purchaser should have had.

By this course of succession of estates, they observe that much quiet and freedom from suits is gained. There is little occasion for conveyances, and few or no questions touching descents or wills, because the law ascertains the course of them in all men's cases alike. Whereas, in England, every possessor of an estate having a power to make private laws for the disposing thereof by conveyance or will, multitudes of questions and suits do arise upon the exposition of those conveyances and wills, which are prevented by the partible law of Sweden.

The like partible law takes place generally in Germany, Denmark, and other neighbouring countries, both for goods and lands, all estates whatsoever there, as in Sweden, being comprised under the name of goods.

As it holds for goods, so for titles of honour: their laws are more liberal than in England, or in southern

countries, where the succession of titles and honours goes to the eldest son only; but in Sweden, and those northern countries, upon the death of the ancestor, his title descends equally to all his sons; as, if the father be an earl or baron, upon his death all his sons are earls or barons, as their father was, which increaseth the number but not the interest of their nobility.

This order of succession of estates in Sweden is general, except in some particular places, and with some variations, as circumstances may require; the learning thereof is fully set down by their learned Doctor Loccenius, in his ‘Synopsis Juris ad leges Suecicas accommodata.’

December 20, 1653.

The Ambassador reaches Upsal,

This day's journey was two Swedish leagues; the weather very sharp, and about noon the snow began to fall in great abundance. Both Whitelocke and all his company had great cause to take notice of the goodness of God to them, as at all times, so particularly throughout this journey, which was extremely long and tedious, full of hardships and difficulties; and it was observable that until this time the weather was for the most part fair and good: when it was open, the way fell out to be hard and good; when the way was deep and watery, the frost helped them. If it had been either rainy or snowy, there had scarce been a possibility to have passed the journey, especially in so short a time as they did. The want of beds and provisions, some very bad ways, sharp weather, ill accommodations for horses, furniture, waggons, meat, drink, lodging, hurts, sicknesses, all inconveniences and hardships, met with cheerful and

constant spirits (many of whom had borne great hardships, though short of these, in our English wars); but their greatest support was a dependence upon the goodness of God, who had called them to this service for their country, and now, and at all times, in His mercy did not fail them.

Being come within half a Swedish league of Upsal, his pages, lacqueys, coachmen, postilions, and grooms in their liveries, and all his people in their order, he was advertised that Monsieur Vanderlin, the master of the ceremonies, was hard by to meet him, in one of the Queen's coaches; and, both of them being alighted for salutation, Vanderlin in a careless garb, in French, told Whitelocke that he was sent by the Queen to meet him, and to conduct him to Upsal, and that she was glad he was come so well thither.

Whitelocke acknowledged with thanks the favour of her Majesty, then offered Vanderlin room in his coach, but he refused it, saying, that two senators would meet Whitelocke before he came to Upsal, in some of the Queen's coaches; and so he and Whitelocke went each to their own coach.

About an English mile before they came to Upsal, two senators, Messieurs Tobe and Vanderlin, brother to the master of the ceremonies, and much company with them, were come forth of their coaches, and stood by the highway to meet Whitelocke, who, before he came near them, alighted from his coach; and after salutations, Vanderlin the senator told Whitelocke, and spoke in Swedish, which was interpreted in Latin, that "the Queen had sent them to meet him on the way, and was very glad that he was safely arrived so far on his way; that she had sent her

coaches to transport him to Upsal, and desired to receive him with all honour.”

Whitelocke answered in English, which also was interpreted in Latin, that, in the honour her Majesty was pleased to show him, she manifested her great respects to the Commonwealth of England, whom he served; and that he hoped shortly to have the happiness to wait upon her Majesty, and to present his thanks to her.

Then senator Vanderlin spoke in French to Whitelocke, desiring him to enter into the Queen’s *carrosse du corps*, which he did; the two senators sat in one boot, and the master of the ceremonies in the other. The coach was of green velvet inside and outside, richly laced with broad silver laces, and fringed; the harness studded and gilded. Six handsome white horses drew it, and about twenty of the Queen’s lacqueys in trunk-hose of yellow, laced with blue and yellow lace, attended it: there were in all eighteen coaches, with six horses apiece, and about six other coaches, with many of the Queen’s gentlemen on horseback.

The coaches observed their order, the meanest first, and so on in their degrees; the Spanish Resident’s coach went next before Whitelocke’s, and both Whitelocke’s coaches next before the Queen’s.

The senators were very civil, and had good discourse in French; but the master of the ceremonies of so slight a carriage, that Whitelocke was the more reserved to him.

and enters
the city in
state.

In this equipage they brought Whitelocke to Upsal, multitudes of people by the way and in the town spectators of his entry; and through the town they

brought him to the market-place, to a fair brick house provided and furnished by the Queen for his entertainment: none besides the Queen's castle a fairer house than this was.

They went directly up two pair of stairs; the Queen's and Whitelocke's gentlemen went up first, bareheaded; the master of the ceremonies followed them; then the two senators, and Whitelocke after them, and sometimes, as the passage would permit, between them; the Queen's lacqueys lighted them up with torches, and Whitelocke's lacqueys among them. The first stairs were of stone, at the top of them a lobby and entry paved with brick; the second stairs were of timber, on the top of which was a lobby hung with tapestry; out of that they went into a withdrawing-room, hung with good hangings of the Queen's, a canopy or state of velvet over the table, with stools suitable; the carpet of cloth of gold.

Within this room they brought him to the bed-chamber, a handsome square room, hung with very good cloth of Arras. The bed was of blue velvet, richly embroidered all over with gold, and a little silk work in flowers, lined with yellow damask; the carpet was of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and silk; the chairs answerable to the curtains, and large foot-carpets of Turkey-work round the bed.

As soon as they had brought him into his bed-chamber, and bid him welcome, they took their leave, telling him that they must attend the Queen, to acquaint her with his coming. Whitelocke waited on them to the stairs' head, and finding them to take no notice of it, and multitudes of people interposing, Whitelocke retired to his bedchamber.

About half an hour after the senators were gone, a gentleman of the Queen's bedchamber came to Whitelocke, and said in French, that he was sent by the Queen to Whitelocke, to inquire how he did after his journey, and to bid him welcome to Upsal, and to excuse the want of such accommodations as were fit for his quality. Whitelocke desired the gentleman to return his thanks to her Majesty for her favours and consideration of him, and for his accommodations, all through her favour, which made his journey seem easy and pleasant to him.

Presently after his going, Monsieur Lagerfeldt, who had posted and got to the Court before Whitelocke's coming, came now to Whitelocke's house, and told him that he was sent by the Queen to visit him. They had much discourse together, wherein Lagerfeldt offered with all freedom and courtesy to do any good offices concerning Whitelocke or his business; and thereof he gave Whitelocke good hopes of the Queen's inclination to a satisfactory despatch. Whitelocke inquired of him many things concerning the Queen and her Court, officers, servants, and the public ministers here.

The master of the ceremonies returned to Whitelocke, and in discourse expostulated with him, that he did not show that regard to the senators who conducted him into Upsal, as was due to them; and instanced in that, after they had taken leave of him in his house, he did not bring them down to their coaches, as he should have done; that they were persons of the greatest quality and authority in the kingdom; that their own people, and all strangers, and particularly ambassadors, did use them with the greatest regard and civility; and that, after they had

brought him to his lodging, he should, at their going away, have brought them to their coaches; and that he was sparing in giving them their due title of Excellence, which, if he did not, they would not give him that title, and much like matter.

Whitelocke answered, that he was weary after his journey, and a lame man, to whom the going up and down so many stairs was more painful than to others; that nevertheless he desired not to be wanting in ceremonies or any expressions of respect to persons of all conditions, especially to senators, who were of that eminent degree and esteem; and among them those noble lords who did him the honour to accompany him hither, by their civility challenged and merited all respect from him; and if his own ignorance at any time led him into an error, he should be willing to be rectified and better instructed by so learned an author and judge as the master of the ceremonies was in these matters.

But in the particular charged on him, he did acknowledge that he purposely omitted waiting upon the senators to their coach, and sometimes of adding their title in discourse, being careful of his own honour, and therein of the honour of his nation; that he apprehended the first neglect to be on the senators' part, in taking no notice of him, nor offering any civility to him, in passing through three several rooms one after another, but permitting their own lacqueys and others to interpose between them and him, who, seeing himself so much slighted by them, did therefore forbear to attend them any further, but retired to his chamber; and when he apprehended them to be reserved in giving him his due title, in regard he

was Ambassador from a Commonwealth (which he held as due to him as to any ambassador of a single prince), he might thereupon perhaps use that title to them the more seldom; that he was no stranger to civilities, having had the honour to see the courts of several princes; that he was most ready to give to others their due honour, and expected that the honour of the nation whom he served should not be diminished in any respect belonging to him as their servant.

The master of the ceremonies seemed not to expect so quick an answer, and laid blame upon the rudeness of the multitude, at such times of solemnity. Whitelocke said, they were their people and under their rule. The master replied, that he hoped in all matters there would be a good understanding between Whitelocke and this Court, wherein he should be glad to be serviceable. He then desired of Whitelocke a copy of his credential letters, to show them to the Queen, the which were ready transcribed and delivered to him.

The Spanish Envoy compliments Whitelocke.

A gentleman came to Whitelocke from Don Antonio Picmentelle de Parada, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Spain to the Queen of Sweden, to visit Whitelocke, from his lord, and to let him know that he intended to come himself to visit him as soon as his audience should be passed; and no other public minister here sent a compliment to Whitelocke.

The master of the ceremonies returned back to Whitelocke to supper, which was set on the table in a large dining-room or hall, in the same floor with the bedchamber on the other side of the lobby; this chamber was furnished with the Queen's hangings, full of silk and good work. In the middle of the

room was a long table, with a canopy of state at the upper end of it of cloth of gold, with the arms of Sweden and supporters, richly embroidered with gold and silk: a second table was on the one side for Whitelocke's steward, and a third table at the lower end for plate and cisterns.

There was a cupboard of the Queen's plate richly gilt, with other large silver vessels. The master of the ceremonies, having conducted Whitelocke into this room, himself came with a towel, Mr. Lyllicrone and the carver with the bason and ewer, and held them to Whitelocke whilst he washed. Grace was said by one of the Queen's pages; then the master of the ceremonies desired Whitelocke to sit at the upper end of the table, as he did all the time of the Queen's entertainment, which was three days, although a senator were present; but at other times, if any senator came to dine with him (as they often did him the favour), he set him at his table above himself, it being the custom of this country so to do, and contrary to the English fashion. The master of the house gives precedence in his own house to all strangers of quality, both at the coming in, and continuance there, and returning: and here they are highly sensible of the least omission of any ceremony which themselves judge to belong to them; and Whitelocke held it not fit to displease them herein, reserving and expecting the ceremonies and rights pertaining to his own character, and therein to his nation.

Ceremony
of the en-
tertain-
ment.

The company were placed at meals of the Queen's entertainment by the master of the ceremonies; and first of them, Whitelocke's two sons, then the rest in their order. The Queen's officers and servants at-

tended with great diligence and ceremony; above all, the carver was too tediously ceremonial.

Whitelocke
refuses to
drink
healths.

Whitelocke had been informed of the custom of the northern countries, of being too much addicted to excessive drinking, and using, by many and great draughts of strong drink and wine, to drink, as they miscall it, healths, than the which nothing tends more to sickness and drunkenness, and sinning against God; to prevent which, Whitelocke had strictly warned his own family against drunkenness, and that none of them should at any time begin or pledge any health, but to excuse themselves by his example and command, who was resolved not to admit that wickedness in his household.

A dispute
with the
Master of
the Cere-
monies.

This night, about the midst of supper, the master of the ceremonies rose from his seat and came to Whitelocke with a great glass of wine in his hand, and began to him a health to the Commonwealth of England. Whitelocke with civility desired to be excused from pledging of it, alleging it to be against his own judgement and the manner and fashion of those whom he served, to drink or pledge healths, and therefore desired his liberty. The master of the ceremonies, as in his own verge, imperiously urged Whitelocke to pledge the health, and told him that he could not refuse it, being to his masters the Commonwealth. Whitelocke answered, that the Commonwealth would not be offended at his refusal to pledge their health, and that his masters, if they were present, would also refuse it; that he had gained his liberty with much hazard at home, and should be unwilling to part with it abroad. The more earnestly it was pressed upon him, the more earnestly he denied it, keeping to the

rule, *Principiis obsta*; and was resolved, as he did, to claim and make good this his liberty in the beginning and first assaults upon it.

After this the master of the ceremonies began the health of General Cromwell, which was refused by Whitelocke as the former was; at which, in great disdain, the master of the ceremonies asked if they thought it unlawful, and said he could not sufficiently wonder to see one refuse to pledge the health of his own General.

Whitelocke answered, that as he condemned no man for drinking a health, so they ought not to condemn him for refusing it, and that the master's admonition was altogether unnecessary: that General Cromwell had other manner of work for his soldiers than to drink healths; that his performance of his General's commands in more important matters would please him better than pledging of his health. There were many returns of the like nature in words and gestures, full of heat and discontent.

Whitelocke's son and Dr. Whistler likewise refusing to pledge the health, the master of the ceremonies, in great scorn, asked, Why not drink a health? and was answered, Why not eat a health? The master said they might observe their country fashions when they were at home, but now should observe the customs of the country where they were.

Whitelocke replied that he understood no such law of ceremonies or of nations for such as himself and his company, his quality giving him the privilege to keep the customs of his own country wheresoever he was; and this freedom he expected here, and was resolved to preserve. After divers passages of this

nature, the dispute concluded in a silent discontent during the rest of supper-time.

After supper, Whitelocke made haste to his lodging, whither the master of the ceremonies conducted him; and so they parted. In the lobby between the great chamber and the withdrawing-room were guards of the Queen's foot with partisans.

December 21, 1653.

Whitelocke
asks for his
audience.

Mr. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and acquainted him that the Queen, reading the copy of his credentials, excepted at the omission of these words in her title, "potentissima domina," which were given to her by the Emperor and all other princes and states.

Whitelocke desired Lagerfeldt to return this answer to the Queen, that Whitelocke was well assured that the Parliament did bear as much respect and honour to her Majesty as any state or prince whatsoever; that this omission of the words of her title was not purposely or out of any disrespect to her, but merely happened *per incuriam* of those who prepared the credentials, which he desired her Majesty would be pleased to pass by.

Lagerfeldt replied that he thought her Majesty would be satisfied with this answer, which was the more confirmed, in regard that, the same omission being in Lagerfeldt's recredentials when he took his leave in England, upon his desire it was amended, and those words inserted.

Whitelocke then told Lagerfeldt that, the festival time of Christmas now drawing near, which was much observed in this country, and as he was in-

formed that they would entertain no business during that time, he therefore desired, if it might stand with the Queen's conveniency, to have his public audience before that time? To which Lagerfeldt promised to bring the Queen's answer in the afternoon, which he did accordingly: that her Majesty was satisfied with what Whitelocke had said touching the omission of the words in her title; and concerning his audience, she was willing to gratify his desire, and appointed Friday next for it.

Whitelocke took care to inform himself of the fashion and custom of this Court, and of all particulars relating to his audience.

The dinner was tedious, with like state and ceremony as the last night's supper. The Queen's pages and lacqueys waited at the table; the meat was plentiful, of three courses, but of no great variety, nor well dressed, but much after the French mode; store of beef several ways dressed, both now and at supper.

December 22, 1653.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and acquainted him that the Queen held her resolution of giving him audience tomorrow at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The ceremonial of the audience.

The master of the ceremonies, upon an intimation from the Queen, who had heard of the passage about the health, being now become more courteous and quiet, and free from drinking healths to Whitelocke, he thought it not fit to waive him, but to interest him also, to whom it properly belonged, in the business of his public audience, which was readily undertaken by the master, and an answer brought him

from the Queen to the same effect as Lagerfeldt had done.

The master and Lagerfeldt also agreed in informing Whitelocke of the ceremonies to be used by him, and which were punctually observed; and that it was the constant course of all ambassadors here, if they spake to the Queen in their own language, as Whitelocke said he intended to do, to have an interpreter; for which end Whitelocke gave his speech to Mr. De la Marche, one of his chaplains, to put the same into French, and to peruse it carefully, that, being thus acquainted with the whole of it, he might be the better able to interpret it after Whitelocke's speaking to the Queen.

December 23, 1653.

Whitelocke
goes to
Court in
state.

The dinner was hastened because of the audience in the afternoon; the master of the ceremonies, with two of the senators, Bonde and Vanderlin, came to Whitelocke's lodging with two of the Queen's rich coaches and about twelve of her lacqueys. Whitelocke met them at his door, and, according to the custom of their country, gave them the precedence in his own lodging up to his bedchamber, where being sat, they told him that they were commanded by the Queen to conduct him to his audience, and they believed that her Majesty was ready to receive him. He said he was ready to accompany them; and at his going out, Whitelocke was in this equipage.

At his gate stood his porter in a gown of grey cloth, laced with gardes of blue velvet between edges of gold and silver lace, two in a seam; his long staff,

with a silver head, in his hand. The liveries of his coachmen and postilions were buff doublets laced with the same lace; the sleeves of their doublets thick and round laced; their breeches and cloaks of grey cloth, with the like laces. His twelve lacqueys, proper men, had their liveries of the same with the coachmen; and the wings of their coats very thick laced with the like laces. The liveries of his four pages were blue satin doublets, and grey cloth trunk-breeches, laced with the same lace, very thick; the cloaks up to the cape, and lined with blue plush; their stockings long, of blue silk. His two trumpets in the like liveries. The gentlemen attendants, officers, and servants of his house were handsomely accoutred, and every man with his sword by his side. The gentlemen of the first rank were nobly and richly habited, who spared for no cost in honour to their country and to their friend; and their persons, and most of the others, were such as graced their habiliments. His secretary, for the credit of his master, had put himself into a rich habit. Whitelocke himself was plain, but extraordinarily rich in his habit, though without any gold or silver lace or embroidery. His suit was of black English cloth, of an exceedingly fine sort, the cloak lined with the same cloth, and that and the suit set with very fair rich diamond buttons; his hatband of diamonds answerable; and all of the value of £1000.

Thus accoutred, with the senators, they took their coaches. Whitelocke's two coaches, with some of the gentlemen, went first; after them one of the Queen's coaches, with some more of the gentlemen; and last was the Queen's other coach,—the senators, master of the ceremonies, and Whitelocke in it.

In the great court of the castle, at the entry upon the bridge, was a guard of one hundred musketeers, with their officer; they made a lane across the court. Whitelocke alighted at the foot of the stairs, where was Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern, nephew to the Ricks-Chancellor, the Hof Marshal, or Steward of the Queen's House, with his bâton or marshal's staff of silver in his hand, and many officers and servants of the Queen. He was a senator, a civil and well-fashioned gentleman. He complimented Whitelocke in French, bid him welcome to Court, and promised his readiness to do him service. Whitelocke returned his grateful acceptance of his civilities, and the honour he had by this occasion of being known to his Excellence. They went up two pair of stone stairs in this order:—

First the gentlemen and officers of the Queen, bare-headed; after them Whitelocke's gentlemen attendants and of his bedchamber, with the inferior officers of his house; then followed his gentlemen of the first rank; after them his two sons, then the master of the ceremonies, after him the two senators, then the Hof Marshal; after him Whitelocke, whom his secretary and chaplains followed, and then his pages, lacqueys, and other liverymen.

The Queen's lacqueys carried torches; and when they had mounted many stairs they came into a large hall, many people being in the way, from thence into a great chamber, where Prince Adolphe, brother to the Prince-heritier of the Crown, then Grand Master or High Steward of Sweden, met Whitelocke; and it was observed that he had not done that honour to any ambassador before.

Some compliments passed between his Highness

and Whitelocke in French. The Prince bade him welcome to Court; Whitelocke acknowledged his happiness to know so noble a Prince, and thanked him for his letters and the accommodations of his journey, especially within his Highness's government, by his favour to a stranger.

The Prince said that the Queen had commanded her officers to take care for his accommodations, which he doubted had not been such as was fit for him, and desired his excuse for his ill treatment. After many compliments and ceremonies they passed on, Whitelocke upon the right hand of the Prince, who conducted him to another chamber, where stood a guard of the Queen's partisans in livery coats richly embroidered with gold; in the next room beyond that, which was large and fair, was the Queen herself; the room was richly hung with cloth of Arras, in the midst of it great candlesticks full of wax-lights, besides a great number of torches.

He perceived the Queen sitting, at the upper end of the room, upon her chair of state of crimson velvet, with a canopy of the same over it. Some ladies stood behind the Queen, and a very great number of lords, officers, and gentlemen of the Court filled the room; upon the foot-carpet, and near the Queen, stood the senators and other great officers, all uncovered; and none but persons of quality were admitted into that chamber. Whitelocke's gentlemen were all let in, and a lane made by them for him to pass through to the Queen.

His reception by
Queen
Christina.

As soon as he came within this room he put off his hat, and then the Queen put off her cap, after the fashion of men, and came two or three steps forward

upon the foot-carpet. This, and her being covered and rising from her seat, caused Whitelocke to know her to be the Queen, which otherwise had not been easy to be discerned, her habit being of plain grey stuff; her petticoat reached to the ground, over that a jacket such as men wear, of the same stuff, reaching to her knees; on her left side, tied with crimson ribbon, she wore the jewel of the Order of Amaranta; her cuffs ruffled *à la mode*; no gorget or band, but a black scarf about her neck, tied before with a black ribbon, as soldiers and mariners sometimes use to wear; her hair was braided, and hung loose upon her head; she wore a black velvet cap lined with sables, and turned up after the fashion of the country, which she used to put off and on as men do their hats.

Her countenance was sprightly, but somewhat pale; she had much of majesty in her demeanour, and though her person were of the smaller size, yet her mien and carriage was very noble.

Whitelocke made his three congees, came up to her and kissed her hand, which ceremony all ambassadors used to this Queen; then she put on her cap, making a ceremony to Whitelocke, who also put on his hat, then calling to his secretary, took of him his credentials, and putting off his hat (at which the Queen also pulled off her cap), Whitelocke told her in English (which Mr. De la Marche interpreted in French) that the Parliament had commanded him to present those letters to her Majesty. She took them with great civility, and read their superscription, but did not then open them.

After some pause, Whitelocke began and spake to the Queen in English, Mr. De la Marche, by his ap-

pointment, interpreting every sentence as he spake it, in French, which was desired from Whitelocke, and alleged to be the constant practice of that Court.

The Queen was very attentive whilst he spake, and coming up close to him, by her looks and gestures (as was supposed) would have daunted him; but those who have been conversant in the late great affairs in England are not so soon as others appalled with the presence of a young lady and her servants. At the time of speaking, both the Queen and Whitelocke were uncovered; and whensoever he in his speech had occasion to use ceremony, the Queen answered it with her courtesy.

Whitelocke's speech follows:—

“Madam,

“By command of my superiors, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, I do with all respect salute your Majesty, which had been sooner done if, by extraordinary accidents and engagements in the settling of three nations, with no few foreign diversions, it had not been retarded.

White-
locke's
speech to
the Queen.

“And although the Commonwealth of England are not encouraged to send abroad, when they reflect upon the barbarous usage of their messengers in some places, yet your Majesty perceives that from your Government neither our masters nor their servants have the least suspicion of any such entertainment; but we who are here do gratefully acknowledge our experience of respect and civility to our nation.

“My business is to communicate with your Majesty in matters relating to the common good, which is of such weight that it admits no hopes of success without His special blessing who by small means can bring great things to pass; the confidence whereof, with my submission to the

judgement and command of my superiors, hath given me this honour of being in your Majesty's presence.

“ Whom I shall not weary with many words or expressions beyond meaning. I am not sent hither for that cause ; and it is as different from my own spirit as contrary to the practice and commands of my superiors, from whom and from their servant, according to the English reality, your Majesty will find all manner of plainness and truth in our transactions.

“ Our deliverances and preservations, whereof we have been eye-witnesses, have been so near to miracles, and such monuments of infinite rich mercy from Heaven, that we should sin against them if the least guile or unfaithfulness should infect our conversation.

“ It is not my work to paint out my own country, or to draw black lines upon any, though our adversaries ; neither shall I take upon me to mention the excellencies of your Majesty's person and Government, or of your people and countries, lest I should injure any merit ; and because I speak to them whom God hath favoured with the enjoyment of those great mercies, the increase and continuance whereof is heartily desired by my superiors, and by me their servant.

“ I shall not enlarge my discourse with observations concerning both nations,—of their likeness in language, laws, manners, and warlike dispositions,—arguments more natural than artificial for a nearer union ; but this I may not omit, the fruits whereof I have tasted, the present happy government under your Majesty, which remembers unto us those blessed days of our virgin Queen Elizabeth, under whom, above forty years, the people enjoyed all protection and justice from their Prince, and she all obedience and affection from her people.

“ May this, and more, be the portion of your Majesty and your successors ; nor had it been lost in those who followed Queen Elizabeth but through their own ill government.

“When attempts were made to ravish from us our highest interest, the orthodox religion and just liberty (the defence whereof, undertaken by King Gustavus Adolphus, your Majesty’s royal father of blessed memory, in this German expedition for the Protestants’ relief, was in him most honourable and successful, and surely for us was most just and necessary, and crowned alike with gracious success by the Almighty), for the extirpation of both which by force, which had long been attempted otherwise, auxiliaries were provided, and afterwards a war raised; but first appearing in Scotland, and there diligently resisted, and the English refusing to be instrumental against Scotland for those ends, the storm was then blown over.

“In Ireland it arose so hideous, that two hundred thousand poor creatures, men, women, and children, besides what the war there devoured, were in cold blood barbarously murdered for no other but because they were Protestants.

“In England it broke out in all parts, from one corner of the land to another: not a place, not a family, free from the rage of our decennial, more than civil war.

“And yet, after so much blood poured forth, we bless God we live; and after so many devastations, a stranger passing through our country hardly can espy the steps of it. Our good God hath given us in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the adjacent isles and territories of the Commonwealth, a full and happy peace.

“In all appeals to Him, whereof we have seen many, He was pleased still to determine for the Parliament; and after these, and eight tenders and treaties of peace, wherein we received the denial, it pleased the gracious and all-disposing hand of God, for the good of England, to change the government thereof. Nevertheless the same common interest which first begat former alliances and confederacies between the two nations do still continue, and oblige both to endeavour the good of each other.

“Whereunto they seem the more engaged because we

cannot find that in any age there hath been a declared war between them, but a constant intercourse of friendship and amity, with mutual offices of kindness, out of which great profit and happiness hath redounded unto both.

“ These things being considered with the affairs of Christendom, and especially with the neighbouring princes and states, through Divine Providence, in such posture and condition as to give greater opportunity and lay stronger obligations upon both these nations to entertain a nearer union and correspondence than heretofore, whereby the commerce and tranquillity of both may be preserved and provided for, with respect also to the common interest and concernment of the true Protestant religion ; and your Majesty having, by your late public ministers to England, signified your royal inclinations and willingness by all good means to conserve and increase the ancient good understanding between these States :

“ Upon these and other weighty considerations, and to show how acceptable the former overtures of your Majesty have been, the Parliament have thought fit, by me, to make tender unto your Majesty of the friendship of the Commonwealth of England, and to let you know that they are not only ready to renew and preserve inviolably that amity and good correspondence which hath hitherto been between the two nations, but are further willing to enter into a more strict alliance and union than hath as yet been, for the good of both, and in such a way as shall be held requisite. I shall be ready more particularly to communicate what I have in charge for this purpose.”

The Queen stood still a pretty while after Whitelocke had done speaking, and then stepping near unto him, with a countenance and gesture full of confidence, spirit, and majesty, yet mixed with great civility and a good grace, she answered Whitelocke presently in the Swedish language ; and every sentence, as she

spake it, was interpreted in Latin by Mr. Lagerfeldt to this effect :—

“ My Lord Ambassador,

The Queen's
answer.

“ We esteem it a very great honour that the Parliament of England hath been pleased to send an Ambassador to us, especially a person of your condition ; and we shall take care, as we hold ourselves obliged by this respect, and by the duty of our government, that during your abode in our dominions not the least injury shall be offered either to yourself or to any of your retinue ; and we hope there shall be no cause to doubt of the contrary.

“ And as your person is very acceptable to us, so is the business which you have imparted, in the transaction whereof we shall manifest the affection which we bear to the Commonwealth of England, and our desires not only to renew former alliances between the two nations, but to enter into a nearer union than heretofore.

“ We are glad that your Commonwealth hath received those blessings of peace and settlement, and do wish the continuance thereof, and that you may not again be disquieted, after so long and dangerous troubles wherein you have suffered.

“ And, Sir, we must give you thanks for your civilities to us, and for your acceptance of such entertainment as this place affords ; but we are sorry that it could not be in a more convenient place both for me and you, and that it was not answerable to your quality, and to the respect which we do bear to the Commonwealth whom you serve. But we desire you to take it in good part, and do assure you that you are very welcome to our Court.”

After the Queen had done speaking, Whitelocke delivered to Lagerfeldt, for the Queen, copies of his speech in English, French, and Latin, and then he spake to the Queen, as he was advised, in French, to this effect, “ that here were two of his sons, and

other gentlemen of quality, who did much desire the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand." She presently stepped forward and gave her hand first to his sons, and after them to sixteen more of the gentlemen of his company, as they were presented by Whitelocke; and she showed great civility, curtsying to every one of them.

After that ceremony past, the Queen spake to Whitelocke in French, desiring him to excuse his ill treatment, both in the way and in this place. Those parts of the country where he travelled being far off, she said, were not provided for the entertainment of such a person as he was, and so attended; and that she was sorry this place would not afford such accommodations as were fit for him; and she wished that she might have entertained him at Stockholm, where it would have been better.

Whitelocke answered in French, "That he was sorry for the occasion of her Majesty's remove from Stockholm; that nevertheless, by her favour, he had received very noble entertainment at Upsal, for which he returned his humble thanks; that wheresoever her Majesty was, his business lay of waiting on her, and acknowledged it his happiness and honour to have the opportunity of access to her, and therefore did not esteem his journey tedious; that in the way, and in this place, he had enjoyed many testimonies of her Majesty's respects and favours, for which he returned thanks, and should make it known to his superiors."

Then the Queen excused her habit, saying, "That she had been ill, which caused her to put herself into the dress of her chamber, in which she chose to appear thus publicly, rather than to disappoint him of

the time of his audience ; that she hoped they should have opportunity and time sufficient to discourse at large together."

Upon this Whitelocke took his leave, and her Majesty used much courtesy to him and his company.

He was conducted back to his lodgings with the like ceremonies as he was brought to Court. The Ricks-Marshal and Vanderlin, senators, supped with him, it being the usage for senators to eat with an ambassador the last meat only of his entertainment.

They excused their not beginning of an health to the Ambassador and his superiors, according to the manner of their country, because they understood his judgement to be against it, and therefore, and not for want of respect, they did forbear it.

Whitelocke acknowledged his judgement to be so, and thanked them for their civility of not offering what was so contrary to it, and permitting him, as was reasonable, to enjoy his own liberty.

After a long supper, which was the less tedious because the Queen's music played and sang excellently well all the time of it, the senators and master of the ceremonies took their leaves of Whitelocke.

December 24, 1653.

The Queen's entertainment being now at an end, and Whitelocke thereby become master of his own time, and a little more at rest, he thought upon his business, and to cast and design how he might best prosecute the same ; and with most advantage thereunto, to make use of all persons resorting to him, and to whom he went, to inform himself of the Queen's

Whitelocke prepares for the business of his Embassy, and makes acquaintance at Court.

disposition and inclination to his superiors, of what principles she was as to the affairs of England, wherein lay her dissatisfaction and objections, what ways were most likely to remove them, upon whose judgement she did most rely, what manner of conversation and discourse was most pleasing to her, what power she had as Queen, and how restrained by any laws, councils, or interest of great men ; who were most trusted by her, whose counsel most followed, what ambassadors and foreign ministers were now in her Court, what their business was, how far prosecuted, how likely to succeed, what relation of them to England, how their masters were affected to our Commonwealth, and what repute they had in this Court.

A Danish
refugee
(Wool-
feldt).

Here he found an Ambassador from the King of Denmark, who was at enmity with England ; and he heard of a gentleman now here, who was of great abilities and alliance in Denmark, forced to fly from his country to avoid the anger of his King : with this person he designed a friendship, that he might by him understand the state of Denmark, and counterwork the Danish Ambassador, who was no friend to this gentleman.

The French
Resident.

Here was a Resident from the King of France, with whom he designed an acquaintance and civil deportment towards him, and to get one intimate with him from whom he might understand his transactions, which he afterwards effected by a Swedish gentleman.

The Dutch
Resident.

The like he designed for getting intelligence of the proceedings of the Dutch Resident, and afterwards effected, though himself could have no converse with this Resident, their superiors being in open war.

Touching the public ministers here from the Em-

peror, from Russia, and from Poland, he did not much trouble himself.

But before all others he designed and obtained an intimate acquaintance and familiarity with Piementelle, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Spain, whom he understood and found to be a gentleman of excellent parts and ingenuity, and in very great favour with the Queen here, and his master an early and good friend to the Commonwealth of England, but not to Holland.

The Spanish Envoy.

He designed also and gained acquaintance and respect with Grave Tott, the Queen's favourite, a gallant young gentleman, and full of civility to Whitelocke, and with the Senators Bond, Vanderlin, Grave Eric Oxenstiern, the Chancellor's son, the Ricks-Droitset, and Chancellor, not yet come to town, and others; and he made great use and furtherance of his business by their acquaintance and assistance. He set one to work about the buying of brass ordnance, according to his instructions; but could get none ready made, and it would be too long to stay the making of them, whereof he gave an account to the Council.

The Swedish nobles.

His audience being passed, he sent to visit the Spanish Ambassador, for so they stiled him in this Court, and gave him the title of Excellence, being Governor of Newport, in Flanders; and Whitelocke would not do less to him than others. The Spanish Ambassador likewise sent to Whitelocke to know if he would be within this afternoon, to give him leave to visit him, which is the custom in foreign parts not to make a visit to any one without first sending to him to know if he should be at leisure. Whitelocke returned his desire of seeing the ambassador; who being come,

Interview with the Spanish Envoy.

was met by Whitelocke at his door, and, as the use is, had the precedence given him. He used many high compliments to the person of Whitelocke, of whom he said he had often heard before, etc.; and of the Commonwealth of England he protested a most high regard and veneration, and that his master, the King of Spain, had more than ordinary affection and respect for them. Whitelocke gave him thanks for his civility in sending to meet him, and inquiring of his health at his arrival here, and remembered the testimonies that the King of Spain had given of his affections to the Commonwealth of England, being the first prince who acknowledged the Parliament; and said he had heard so much of the worth and honour of this ambassador and of his acquaintance here, that Whitelocke was ambitious to be known to him, and to be in his favour.

Piementelle replied, I have been some time in this Court, and enjoyed much of the Queen's favour; and if thereby I may be serviceable to your Excellence, or to your business, I shall be glad of it.

Whitelocke. I do much rejoice that her Majesty's favours are so worthily placed, and hope that it may be of advantage to me.

Piem. What course do you intend to take for procuring your audiences?

Wh. The master of the ceremonies adviseth that I must go by way of memoir to the Secretary of State.

Piem. With submission to him, to whose office it doth belong, I apprehend that way to be about, and not so agreeable as to desire private audiences from the Queen herself.

Wh. Did your Excellence use that way?

Piem. I took that course in all my business, and it succeeded well, and was best liked by the Queen.

Wh. When doth your Excellence suppose I may, with civility, desire a private audience?

Piem. I am confident that if your Excellence desire to have a private audience tomorrow, though Christmas Day, the Queen will give it you.

Whitelocke was glad to hear the Spaniard of this opinion; but resolved not to desire an audience on that festival day, which was so solemnly observed here, but thought it might be helpful to his proceedings to get into an intimate friendship with this gentleman, which he began at this time, when they had very much and free discourse together, both of the Queen and of her Court and servants; and Whitelocke gained much from him, and afterwards improved his acquaintance and interest with this gentleman by civilities and frequent conversation, to the great advantage of his business, by the extraordinary favour of this ambassador with her Majesty, and consequently with her servants.

December 25, 1653.

On this Lord's Day, being Christmas Day, Whitelocke had prayer and sermons in his house; but most of his company went abroad to observe the manner of the celebration of this day here; and he learned that their prayers and divine service were much after the manner of the English Common Prayer-book, in the lessons, epistles, gospels, prayers, second service, responsals, and administration of the Sacrament; and

Christmas Day. The Church of Sweden.

near the same words as in our Liturgy for baptisms, marriages, churchings, visiting the sick, and burials. That their ministers in country parishes are not generally very learned nor studious ; but many of them, having made or provided a book of sermons suitable to the several holidays and for every Lord's Day, they say or read one of these sermons upon the day for which it was made ; and when the year begins again, they also begin again their book of sermons, and before they come to the last the first is forgot, and becomes as new the next year.

But in this University of Upsal, and in divers other places, they have both bishops, superintendents, and ministers in the inferior clergy, who are men of great learning, and hard students and pious men ; and such are had in great veneration by the people, and carry a great sway with their neighbours and parishioners ; but their means is not liberal, the archbishop's revenue of this place being reckoned but two thousand rix-dollars yearly, which is about £500 a year of our money ; the other bishops less ; and few of their parish ministers have above £40 or £50 a year, their parishes, though very large, yet not being populous, nor much manured.

They have a good way of choosing their ministers in every parish, and they live lovingly with the people, sometimes to the giving of bad example, even to debauchery, at their feastings and times of jollity.

In the cathedral church here they come too near the fashion of the Popish churches for crucifixes, images, copes, surplices, and the like, and in the manner of their chanting of service, and with ceremonies fetched from the usages of that church, and not yet

reformed; but in the Queen's chapel they had not those ceremonies, not so much as the surplice. They are much pleased with music in their churches; and that in the Queen's chapel, which some of Whitelocke's people, who were able to judge of it, heard this day, they commended to be excellent good, and they noted that, in the Queen's chapel, the music played in the time of divine service and of administering the Sacrament.

December 26, 1653.

By the master of the ceremonies Whitelocke procured a private audience appointed by the Queen to be this day, and was brought to the Court with three or four of the Queen's rich coaches, attended by many of her lacqueys with torches. In the presence-chamber he was met by Grave Tott, the Queen's favourite and captain of her guard, who brought him into a fair withdrawing-room, where the Queen was alone; her habit of black velvet, of the same fashion as at the audience.

Whitelocke has a private audience of the Queen.

They were there alone together, and the doors were shut. Whitelocke began to the Queen in French to this effect:—

Whitelocke. Madam, I desired this audience for an opportunity to return my thanks to your Majesty for the honour you have been pleased to show me, and for the favours I have received from your Majesty in my journey, and in my entertainment and public audience here.

Queen. Your accommodations in your journey and your entertainment here have not been such as I de-

sired, nor could these places afford what was fit for you; and I desire you to excuse it, and be assured of a hearty welcome to my Court.

W^h. Madam, what I intimated at my public audience in the general, I am ready to give your Majesty a personal account of it, and do hope that it will be for the good of both nations.

Qu. I believe the same, and am ready to entertain an alliance with the Commonwealth of England. The business is of very great weight and consequence, and therefore requires good consideration and advice. I am at present in a condition of quiet and peace; and how far I should involve myself in troubles is very considerable.

W^h. Your Majesty is best able to judge whether an alliance with England will not add to your security, there being designs abroad against your Majesty as well as others.

Qu. I believe there are, and that an alliance with England will be of advantage to us; but, Sir, have you any other authority for such a business besides the letters you brought to us?

W^h. Madam, I have a commission under the Great Seal of England, which I have brought with me to show to your Majesty.

Qu. I pray let us read it together.

W^h. I see your Majesty understands the Latin perfectly, and will find here sufficient authority given me for this business.

Qu. I have Latin enough to serve my turn, and the authority given to you is very full. Upon what particulars will the Parliament think fit to ground the alliance between the two nations?

Wh. If your Majesty please, I shall present you with the particulars in writing, in French or Latin, as you shall command.

Qu. It will be best in Latin, because I shall take advice in it.

Wh. I shall do it as your Majesty directs.

Qu. Your General is one of the gallantest men in the world; never were such things done as by the English in your late war. Your General hath done the greatest things of any man in the world; the Prince of Condé is next to him, but short of him. I have as great a respect and honour for your General as for any man alive, and I pray let him know as much from me.

Wh. My General is indeed a very brave man; his actions show it; and I shall not fail to signify to him the great honour of your Majesty's respects to him; and I assure your Majesty he hath as high honour for you as for any prince in Christendom.

Qu. I have been told that many officers of your army will themselves pray and preach to their soldiers; is that true?

Wh. Yes, Madam, it is very true. When their enemies are swearing or debauching or pillaging, the officers and soldiers of the Parliament's army use to be encouraging and exhorting one another out of the word of God, and praying together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing to be with them, who hath shown His approbation of this military preaching by the successes He hath given them.

Qu. That's well. Do you use to do so too?

Wh. Yes, upon some occasions in my own family; and think it as proper for me, being the master of it,

to admonish and speak to my people when there is cause, as to be beholden to another to do it for me, which sometimes brings the chaplain into more credit than his lord.

Qu. Doth your General and other great officers do so?

Wh. Yes, Madam, very often and very well. Nevertheless they maintain chaplains and ministers in their houses and regiments; and such as are godly and worthy ministers have as much respect and as good provision in England as in any place of Christendom. Yet it is the opinion of many good men with us, that a long cassock with a silk girdle and a great beard do not make a learned or good preacher without gifts of the Spirit of God, and labouring in his vineyard. And whosoever studies the Holy Scripture, and is enabled to do good to the souls of others, and endeavours the same, is nowhere forbidden by that word, nor is it blamable.

The officers and soldiers of the Parliament held it not unlawful, when they carried their lives in their hands and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to encourage one another out of His word who commands over all; and this had more weight and impression with it than any other word could have; and was never denied to be made use of but by the Popish prelates, who by no means would admit lay-people, as they call them, to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which can nowhere else be found.

Qu. Methinks you preach very well, and have now made a good sermon: I assure you I like it very well.

Wh. Madam, I shall account it a great happiness if any of my words may please you.

Qu. Indeed, Sir, these words of yours do very much please me, and I shall be glad to hear you oftener on this strain. But I pray tell me, where did your General, and you his officers, learn this way of praying and preaching yourselves?

Wh. We learned it from a near friend of your Majesty, whose memory all the Protestant interest hath cause to honour.

Qu. My friend! who was that?

Wh. It was your father, the great King Gustavus Adolphus, who, upon his first landing in Germany, as many then present have testified, did himself in person upon the shore, on his knees, give thanks to God for his safe landing, and before his soldiers himself prayed to God for his blessing upon that undertaking; and he would frequently exhort his people out of God's word; and God testified his good liking thereof by the wonderful successes He was pleased to vouchsafe to that gallant King.

To this the Queen made no further reply; but, as her manner was, sometimes she would discourse of the English wars, and sometimes of the present treaty, and fall out of one matter into another, full of variety and pleasant intermixed discourses.

She was very inquisitive to know from Whitelocke the state of the war between England and the Dutch. He gave her a full account thereof, and told her that she should find nothing but truth in what he related to her.

She then discoursed of all the battles and passages between the King and Parliament, and of the treaties, wherein she had been largely informed, but with divers mistakes to the disadvantage of the Parliament;

and Whitelocke, having been sufficiently versed in those matters, gave her a full and true relation of them respecting the mistakes ; and she seemed much satisfied therewith, saying that she never had been truly and clearly informed of those affairs until now. She likewise inquired of Scotland, Ireland, and of the business of the Highlanders, and concerning Cromwell, Fairfax, and most of the officers of the Parliament's armies and navies ; concerning all which Whitelocke gave her a full account.

Then she inquired of the business of Worcester ; whereof Whitelocke gave her a clear relation, and of the forces on each side, of Cromwell's speedy marches, of the Parliament's quick supplies and additional forces, and of particular actions in the engagement, which he took care to do without injury to any party, giving all of them their due. The Queen seemed to wonder at it, and to receive much contentment in the relation.

She then asked what personal actions the King of Scots performed in that engagement. Whitelocke said that the King was in person, both in the field and in the town, in the hottest engagement, and expressed good courage and conduct ; and when, by the fortune of the war, his men left him, he was forced to leave the town.

This audience lasted above two hours, not any person coming in or knocking, all that time, to interrupt them. They stood and walked up and down the room all the while, which made Whitelocke very weary, being lame ; yet at the time in discourse with such a Princess, and upon such high matters (like a wounded man when he is hot), he felt not the pain, but felt it afterwards.

The young men, scholars of the University of Upsal, Address of the scholars of Upsal. ambitious to publish their learning, and how far it did extend, even to the knowledge of remote English, and to testify their affection to that nation, many of them came to Whitelocke's house, and presented him with Greek, Latin, and English verses, set out with flourishes in a table of parchment adorned with ribbons, and a high-swelling title,—“To the most illustrious, etc. B. W., Jupiter and Mars being extraordinarily conjoined, Extraordinary Ambassador, etc.”

The English verses, for the uncouthness and variety of them, are here only inserted :—

“One only starre, from east, tree kings did leade :
 Most glorious Mars, and Jupiter, brought you to Swede ;
 Who, doubtlesse, (with) your famous will and wisdom,
 Will knot and (LOCK) ours, with your most martiall
 kingdome.
 Therefore, no humane craft or poliey indeavour
 To breake that which cœlestiall signs doth favour.
 Then will we daunt all Europe's stoutest hearts,
 Ledde by your great Neptune, Jupiter, and Mars.
 Thus doe we, the literal flower of this most glorious
 academy,
 With hearts imbrace whom heaven sent ; and prayse
 your famous Exeelleney.”

Some of the scholars spake to Whitelocke in good Latin, and he answered and treated them with all kindness and civility ; and after discourses in Latin, Whitelocke offered to discourse with them also in that language which they had honoured by their verses in English, but they would not adventure upon it. He returned them the most acceptable thanks—a gratuity in money to buy them some books, which was cheerfully received ; and so the scholars were dismissed.

Whitelocke sent to visit the Spanish Resident, to know if he should be at leisure tomorrow to admit a visit from him ; and the like message he sent to Prince Adolphus : and both returned civil answers, and that they should be glad of the honour to see the English Ambassador.

December 27, 1653.

White-
locke's visit
to Prince
Adolphus,

Whitelocke made his first visit to Prince Adolphus, who discoursed much with him of England, and of the late troubles there ; and his Highness did much extol both the country and people of England, and fell into a large discourse of the English horses, and wondered how they could endure so long a voyage and journey at that time, as those did which Whitelocke brought with him, and praised them, even to a desire of having some of them bestowed on him ; but Whitelocke was not so young a courtier as to pass the compliment of their being at his Highness's service, lest he might be taken at his word.

English horses, especially for the pad, are of great esteem here. Their own are generally of a small breed, and trotters ; they are somewhat like our Welsh and Scottish nags. The Queen and some great lords have a breed of large and handsome horses, but not many of them. Most of their horses for the coach and sledge and for war are brought out of Germany or Denmark, where they have store of good ones ; but none for beauty, mettle, and service beyond the English.

The Prince inquired much of the service of our English horses in our late wars, and if they were not a great advantage to the party that had most of them ?

Whitelocke told him that England bred plenty of good horses, and they had many thousand of them in the late war on both sides ; and the horsemen were as good soldiers as any in the world, yet gave the less advantage to their party, because the English infantry were much beyond the foot in other countries, who maintained not their foot in such pay and clothes and courage as the English did ; who had them in such esteem, as the chief strength in the battle, that the English kings used to place themselves and fight among the footmen : yet their horse were excellent good, and most of them gentlemen and persons of consideration.

The Prince fell into a discourse of the hunting and hawking in England, which he had heard the English gentry much delighted in, and had those sports far exceeding other places : which Whitelocke acknowledged, and was able to describe the manner of it to the Prince, who was much delighted therewith. And then he extolled the civility and gallantry of Whitelocke's followers, and of the English nation in general, and received answerable compliments from Whitelocke as to his Highness's person and countrymen.

From the Prince Whitelocke went and visited the Spanish Ambassador, who was a gentleman of great parts and ingenuity, and of a very civil deportment. His favour with the Queen was so great that she afforded him lodgings in her own Court in the castle ; he was handsomely attended by a retinue, not numerous, but of well-chosen persons.

and to the
Spanish
Envoy.

His chaplain was a prior, a man of excellent parts, wit, and behaviour ; he spake fluently, besides Spanish, the Latin, French, and High Dutch, and was very learned, in whose company and discourse Whitelocke

took much pleasure, and the more because he never mentioned anything of religion that might cause dispute.

His secretary was a very genteel man ; had good language and abilities. Besides him he had but one other gentleman of quality, and the grooms of his chamber, two pages, four lacqueys, cooks, butlers, coachman, postilion ; all handsome men, and well habited and civilized. In his discourse he wished all good success to Whitelocke and his business ; and acquainted him that the Hollanders were then in treaty for a league between them and France and Denmark, and it was to be against Spain and England, but nothing said of the Queen of Sweden.

Whitelocke asked if the Queen were not sensible that it would concern her, though she were not mentioned in it. He said, the Queen thought it did reflect more upon her than upon Spain or England, who were named. Whitelocke said she might take it as if they held her unworthy to be named.

They agreed with much mutual respect upon a friendship between these two public ministers, as being much upon the same interest and principles, and to assist one another all they could, and to communicate intelligences.

Piementelle made an overture, that a union between Spain, England, and Sweden would be of great advantage to all of them ; to which Whitelocke thought fitter to give a general than any punctual answer.*

* [These overtures of the Spanish Envoy at the Court of Sweden coincided in point of time with the warm solicitations and incessant intrigues to which the English Government was at that time exposed on the part of the Spanish and the French Governments, both

Piementelle fell into a high commendation of the Queen, of her singular parts and abilities for government and public affairs, excelling all women, and scarce giving place therein to any man that he ever met with; and that she was of an admirable spirit and courage beyond her sex, well skilled for military affairs, and as fit as possibly a woman could be to lead an army. This was seconded by Whitelocke, as far as his knowledge could enable him; and he thought fit not to be silent in this argument touching a Princess in whose Court they both were.

At his return home he found some of those gentlemen still there who had favoured him with their company at dinner,—the master of the ceremonies, Mr. Lyllicrone, the Syndic, Mr. Couper, Mr. Butler, and others.

December 28, 1653.

The French Resident visited Whitelocke, and among his long compliments mentioned the great affection of the King his master to the Commonwealth of Eng-
The French Resident visits Whitelocke.

eager to obtain the advantage of an alliance which lent the assistance of Cromwell to its policy and of Blake to its fleets. Don Alonzo de Cardenas and M. de Bordeaux, Don Louis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarin, were bidding against each other in London for the support of the Protector. Cromwell long remained impassible, and apparently hesitating between the two. He asked of France a subsidy of four, and subsequently two millions of livres, and the surrender of some strong place, such as Brest, until Dunkirk should be taken. He asked of Spain fifty thousand crowns a month, freedom of trade to the West Indies, and freedom of religion for British subjects in Spain. But these demands were calculated rather to embarrass than to hasten the alliance, and it was not until the spring of 1655 that Penn's expedition to the West Indies and the conquest of Jamaica led to the rupture with Spain and the conclusion of the treaty of alliance with France.]

land. Whitelocke answered, that the Commonwealth had not at any time assisted the enemies or rebels of his master, or entertained them, and therefore deserved his Majesty's affection. To which the Resident made no reply, but fell into discourse of Whitelocke's journey by land, and of the countries and towns through which he travelled, where the Resident said he had been, and that three of the largest of those towns must be put together to make one city; that it fell out well that the last year was so plentiful, else the people that came with Whitelocke would have wanted meat to eat and straw to lie on; and he highly commended his own country, as was expected from him, and the accommodations of travellers there; which gave Whitelocke occasion to do right to England. The gentleman had but small attendance, and had not gained much experience by seven years' residence in this Court.

Whitelocke answered the visit of Grave Tott, the Queen's favourite, who offered his service in any addresses to his mistress; and Whitelocke accepted and made use of his courtesy, which he was the more enabled to afford, being, as himself noted, the first gentleman of her bedchamber. He was a civil, handsome young courtier, of good parts and mettle, and much of the French mode.

December 29, 1653.

A private
audience of
the Queen.

The master of the ceremonies being out of town, Whitelocke made use of the favour of Grave Tott, and by him procured a private audience from the Queen, to which he went in his own coaches; and in the

great chamber Grave Tott met him, and said he had surprised them at Court, who intended to have sent the Queen's coaches for him, but he came sooner than they expected; for which Whitelocke asked their pardon if his earnest desire to have the honour of being in her Majesty's presence might bring him to Court at an hour unseasonable.

He was presently admitted into the Queen's presence, where two stools were brought in; and the Queen having heard that Whitelocke was lame, she herself sat down and commanded Whitelocke to sit by her: she kept off her cap, and so did Whitelocke, all the time of the audience.

Having first entertained her with some news which he had from England, and concerning the Dutch, he then showed her a list of the Parliament's fleet for the winter guard, explaining to her the number of men, the several officers, the burden of the ships, how many pieces of ordnance each of them carried, the pay of the men, the provisions of diet, the stores, ammunition, and the like; of all which she was very inquisitive, and asked him—

Queen. Do those ships belong to the Commonwealth or to private persons, and are made use of by the State when they have occasion, as at this time?

Whitelocke. They are all the State's own ships, built and furnished at the public charge, and are set out for this winter guard only. The State hath many more and greater ships belonging to their navy, which are reserved, and to be fitted for the summer guard; besides many others that are repairing and new building.

Qu. This is a gallant navy indeed; I am exceed-

ingly taken with the description of it. I thought no prince or state in the world had had so good a fleet except the Hollanders, who, I believe, have more ships than England.

W^h. The Hollanders may have more ships or vessels than England, especially if fisher-boats be reckoned; but for ships of war, England is not inferior to any other nation. The Hollanders take more care for ships of burden than of force; but the English merchant-ships may be easily converted to able ships of war. The Hollanders, till their present sea-war with England, had not much occasion for ships of war, being in peace with their neighbours, and the less, being upon the Continent; but for carriage-ships, their principal interest being trade, they had as much occasion and a greater number than any other people. But England, Scotland, Ireland, and the dominions of our Commonwealth, consisting of islands, our chiefest defence is in our navy, to meet with an enemy before he lands, and our best bulwarks are these wooden walls.

The opening of the Sound.

Qu. You have reason for what you say. Some of these ships of yours would do good service to open the Sound. What way do you think fit to be taken to open and make free the passage thereof?*

W^h. That must needs be better known to your Majesty, who is a neighbour to the place and much concerned in it, than to me who am a stranger.

Qu. But I desire your opinion in it.

W^h. I do not think it convenient to permit the

* [It will be remembered that this was one of the principal objects contemplated in Whitelocke's instructions from the Council of State.]

Dane and the Dutch to lay what exactions they please upon all the people of the world who have occasion to pass that way.

Qu. It cannot be taken out of their hands but by force.

At this word the Queen drew her stool nearer to Whitelocke's, and said:—

Qu. Do you think that the Commonwealth of England will give assistance in that business?

Wh. Madam, I think they will, upon such just and honourable terms as may be agreed.

Qu. Do you think they will send any ships for that purpose?

Wh. I believe upon fit terms they will.

Qu. What would you propose as fit to be done in the business?

Wh. I suppose your Majesty doth not expect any proposal from me in the first place. But if you will be pleased to consider of some proposals in order to that business, and that I may have them in writing, I will send them to my superiors, from whom I shall speedily receive directions therein agreeable to the interest of both nations; and a conclusion may be thereupon had in this business here.

Qu. *Par Dieu!* this is worthy the consideration of both nations, and doth not only concern them but all the world besides. But what do you think of the Emperor's taking part with the King of Denmark?

Wh. The business will be chiefly at sea, where the Emperor hath no strength. And I believe his Imperial Majesty will have no opportunity to molest your Majesty's territories in Germany, in regard of his own affairs with the princes and his neighbours.

Qu. But he may assist the Dane with money.

Wh. I think he hath not much to spare.

Qu. The King of Spain may lend them money.

Wh. Not against England or Sweden, especially to advance the interest of Holland, though he should have money enough besides for his own many occasions, which I believe he hath not.

Qu. I presume the Dutch will come with all their power, to assist the Dane chiefly against England, and to hinder their having an interest in the Sound.

Wh. It concerns them so to do the rather now, they being in hostility against us and in alliance with the Dane; but this is to be expected and provided for, and the business will come the sooner and the more certainly to an issue.

Qu. Do you think that your Commonwealth will send ships enough and sufficient to encounter with the Dutch?

Wh. In all our affairs hitherto the blessing of God hath been with our Commonwealth; and I doubt not but that our ships, joining with your Majesty's, will suffice to bring to reason the Dane or Dutch, in these or any other seas.

Qu. I believe the King of France will assist them.

Wh. His navy is not very formidable nor frequent on the Baltic Sea; and for land forces, they will have a long march after they have made an end with the Prince of Condé and their old enemy; nor hath that King much spare money.

Qu. You speak very fully and truly of the interest of the several princes and states of Europe. I do extremely like the business, and will prepare a memoir of some proposals concerning it, and give it to you to

send into England ; but speed and vigour and secrecy are requisite herein. And I must enjoin you to acquaint nobody with this discourse but only your General Cromwell, whose word I shall rely upon ; but I would not have this matter made known to any other whatsoever ; and I desire you not to speak of it to any of my own ministers, nor of anything else relating to your negotiation but what I shall give way unto.

Wh. Madam, I shall faithfully obey your Majesty's commands, and not reveal any tittle of these matters without your permission.

Qu. Have you not heard in England that I was to marry the King of Scots?

Wh. It hath been reported so in England, and that letters have passed between your Majesty and him for that purpose, and that your Majesty had a good affection for the King of Scots.

Qu. I confess that letters have passed between us ; but this I will assure you, that I will not marry that King ; he is a young man, and in a condition sad enough ; though I respect him very much, yet I shall never marry him, you may be well assured. But I shall tell you under secrecy that the King of Scots lately sent a letter to the Prince Palatine, my cousin, and with it the order of the Knight of the Garter to the Prince ; but the messenger had the wit to bring it first to me ; and when I saw it and had read the letter, I threw it into the fire, and would not suffer the George to be delivered to my cousin.

Wh. Your Majesty did very judiciously, and thereby testified great prudence in yourself, and great honour and respect to the Commonwealth of England. I met in your Court one of my countrymen, no friend

to our Commonwealth, whom I suspect might be the messenger.

Qu. Who was that?

Wh. Sir William Balendine.

Qu. He indeed was the messenger; but do not communicate this passage to any but to your General.

Wh. I shall fully perform your Majesty's commands; and, Madam, I hope you will not trouble yourself to receive any public minister or message from the King of Scots or any of his party; or, if any should come, that your servant may have the honour to know of it.

Qu. What would you do in case any such thing should be?

Wh. I hope that, in reason and in right of friendship with our Commonwealth, I may prevail with your Majesty not to entertain any such minister or message; and it behoves me, in that duty and service which I owe to my superiors, to make my protestation against any such message or messengers.

Qu. That would be an act of stoutness in you, and I believe you may be commanded to do so; but I suppose there will be no occasion for it. There is no such messenger in my Court; and as for Balendine, he is one of my servants.

Wh. I hope there will be no occasion for it.

Qu. What are the particulars which you have to propose to me of this treaty?

Wh. Madam, I have them here in writing.

Then Whitelocke (having resolved as the best way in his judgement to deal with a princess of honour) did freely and fully present her with all the articles at once for which he had received instructions, reserving

only three, which would be more proper to be given in and treated on after her answer known to these. Perhaps he would have done otherwise with the Dutch or other people, to have proceeded by degrees, and not to have bid so much at first; but with this Queen he thought this frank way would be the best. And it proved so; for she was pleased after this to say to some in private that the English Ambassador had dealt with her, not as a merchant, but as a gentleman and as a man of honour, and that he should fare the better for it.

Whitelocke gave her an English copy of the articles signed by him, and a Latin copy not signed. She desired him to read the Latin copy to her, which he did, and she was very attentive, not giving any interruption; and after they were read, the Queen made her observations upon several of them, asking the meaning thereof, which Whitelocke explained, and endeavoured to give her satisfaction. She then said it was a great business, and she desired some few days to consider and advise upon it. Whitelocke told her she was mistress of her own time, and when she should command he would be ready to wait on her Majesty again. She replied, that whensoever he pleased to come to her Court the gates should be open to receive him, and he should be welcome to her, and that within three or four days she would be ready to confer with him again about these matters.

This audience lasted about three hours, none interrupting it, and the Queen was in a very good humour, and seemed very well pleased with the company and conference.

December 30, 1653.

Writes despatches to England.

This being the post-day, Whitelocke was very busy in writing his letters to England. He wrote at large to the Council of State an account of his reception and entertainment here, and of his public audience; and the civility and gallantry of his people, of the passage about the health, of his private audiences, of the conference with the Queen touching the Sound, which he wrote in cipher. He also sent them a copy of Prince Adolphus' letter to him, and of his speech to the Queen in English, and the Latin copy of it which he gave in to her.*

A further audience.

Before he had finished his letters, though it was post-day, yet the Queen sent by Grave Tott for Whitelocke to come presently to her, which he did; and she asking him, he told her that his letters from England were not yet brought to him, and he doubted they might be intercepted. The Queen offered him to send his letters under her cover to her commissary, Bonnele, at London, and that he should have order to send Whitelocke's letters hither in her Majesty's packet; for which favour he thanked her, but did not think fit to make use of it, lest her ministers might have opportunity thereby to look into his letters; and he thought his masters would not like it well that the Queen's servants should convey their letters.

Queen. I have intelligence by this post that the treaty between England and the Dutch is broken off; have you heard so?

* [The Latin copy of Whitelocke's address to the Queen is here inserted in the original MS.]

Whitelocke. I have received no letters, but possibly it may be so. Yet, if there should be a peace between them, I do not apprehend any inconvenience thereby to the alliance of England and Sweden, which the Dutch could have no pretence to oppose.

Qu. As friends to the Dane they must.

Wh. Then it will be against their peace with England.

Qu. Here are my letters in Dutch; you may have them translated and take copies of them.

Wh. I most humbly thank your Majesty.

Qu. I have considered of the discourse between us yesterday, and I think it would be very advantageous to our alliance to take the King of Spain into it; what do you think of that?

He apprehended that the Queen had imparted to Piementelle their former discourse, and that he had put her upon this overture: to which Whitelocke answered:—

Wh. Madam, I know not how far the Parliament may hold off, in regard that no justice hath been yet done upon those who murdered our public minister there.

Qu. That is a just exception; but in regard the Dutch are now making an alliance, and are very near it, between them and France and Denmark, it were good for us also to have a trinity (so her word was) of Sweden, England, and Spain in an alliance.

Wh. Probably some may object the difference in religion.

Qu. That will be no hindrance to the force of the union; the Dutch and Dane, being Protestants, do unite with the French, though Papists. I pray, consi-

der further of it : methinks the Papists have not equal liberty with others, as they ought to have.

Wh. Their tenets do not consist with the public peace of Protestant princes and states, whom they esteem heretics, and a good service to God to cut them off.

Qu. This opinion some have vented in former times ; but now their interest leads them from it, and they do not hold it.

Wh. I doubt they still retain it.

Qu. I pray what religion do you profess in England?

Wh. In regard your Majesty doth me the honour to catechize me, I shall answer you very freely. We profess the true reformed Protestant Christian religion ; we believe in God the Father, our Creator ; in God the Son, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer ; and in God the Holy Ghost, our Comforter : three Persons, and one God.

Qu. That is very right, and these are the same fundamentals with other Protestant Churches. But the world reports a great number of several different religions in England,—some Lutherans, some Calvinists, some called Independents, some Anabaptists, and some yet higher and different from all the rest, whose names we know not.

Wh. Where Luther or Calvin or others agree with the Holy Scriptures, the true rule to walk by, there the profession in England agrees with them, and is but one in the fundamentals of it ; and as to the difference of opinions in ceremonies or some matters of worship and discipline, it is incident to men as much as differences of countenances or of diet ; but in the main, all agree. The late troubles occasioned people

to take a greater liberty in all things, particularly in matters of religion, than formerly, and there it is esteemed the highest tyranny of all others to tyrannize over men's judgements and consciences.

Qu. May not such a business as that of the Anabaptists at Munster be feared by you to be the issue of these differences in religion, especially when such kind of men receive countenance? There is nothing more desperate to the peace of a state than the fostering of such violent incendiaries as these kind of people are; and if they be suffered to grow and spread their opinions uncontrolled, it will prove difficult to reduce them to order again. These new opinions are not sprung up from those who now profess them, but have been instigated by your enemies.

W. Your Majesty's observation is most right, that our enemies have fomented these differences, and the more care and vigilance is requisite to prevent the dangers of them; but hold it the best way to neglect them—*spreta exolescunt*—thereby they will fall of themselves, when a public notice and proceeding against them will but make them the more considerable, men being apt to take in with a persecuted party; and new fangles please the vulgar, who can least distinguish and are soonest misled. But many with us hold it aright for every one to be left to take care of his own soul, which concerns none but himself, and that the magistrate ought not to confine or persecute another into his judgement for that which concerns the other only, so long as the public peace is preserved, to which the law of England hath a strict regard; and whosoever, by his opinion or practice, disturbs that peace, is to be severely punished.

Then the Queen, who used much variety and digressions in her discourse, asked Whitelocke :—

Qu. How do you contrive it to write to your superiors, that others may not know what you write, in case your letters should be intercepted ? do you write by ciphers ?

Wh. That is a way that may easily be unciphered ; but I use to write to my General by such a way as no flesh can ever find out but by agreement beforehand.

Qu. How is that, I pray ?

Wh. I leave with my General, or with the Secretary of the Council, two glasses of water, which I make : with the one of the waters I write my letters, having two like glasses of waters with myself. The letter thus written no man can possibly read, no more than if it were written with fair water ; but wash over this letter with the water in the other glass, and it turns it to black, and just as if it had been written with ink.

Qu. That is a curious way indeed ; and have you of those waters here ?

Wh. Yes, Madam, I make them myself, and have left of them with my General, so that no creature can read his or my letters without them.

Qu. What huge dog is this ?

Wh. It is an English mastiff, which I brought with me, and it seems is broke loose, and followed me even to this place.

Qu. Is he gentle and well-conditioned ?

Wh. The more courage they have, the more gentle they are : this is both. Your Majesty may stroke him.

Qu. I have heard of the fierceness of these dogs ; this is very gentle.

Wh. They are very gentle unless provoked, and of a generous kind ; no creature hath more mettle or faithfulness than they have.

Qu. Is it your dog ?

Wh. I cannot tell ; some of my people told me that one Mr. Peters sent it for a present to the Queen.

Qu. Who is that Mr. Peters ?

Wh. A minister, and great servant to the Parliament.

Qu. That Mr. Peters sent me a letter.

Wh. He is a great admirer of your Majesty ; but to presume to send a letter or a dog for a present to a Queen, I thought above him, and not fit to be offered to your Majesty.

Qu. I have many letters from private persons. His letter and the dog do belong to me, and are my goods, and I will have them.

Wh. Your Majesty commands in chief, and all ought to obey you, and so will I, not only as to the letter and dog, but likewise as to another part of his present, a great English cheese of his country making.

Qu. I do kindly accept them from him, and see that you send my goods to me.

Wh. I will not fail to obey your Majesty.

The Queen was pleased to take notice herself, and to promise to give order for supply of some accommodations which were here wanting to Whitelocke and his company ; and so they parted in much drollery.

After his return home he met with yet another hindrance of his despatches.

The Reichshof of Denmark, Mnr. Woolfeldt, came to visit Whitelocke, who being informed of this gentleman before, and of his great parts and abilities, with his experience of public affairs, especially relating

M. Woolfeldt, a Danish gentleman, waits upon Whitelocke.

to his own country, whereof Whitelocke thought he might make some use, and the more because of the present hostility between England and Denmark, and this gentleman's condition. He was received by Whitelocke with all courtesy, and gained into an intimate friendship and frequent conversation.

He is a serious man in business, and facetious at other times; of great experience in matters of negotiation, having been, as himself related, thirteen times employed as a public minister, and most times as an ambassador. He married the King of Denmark's daughter by a left-handed wife, as they are there called,—that is, a second wife, whom the King, having issue by his first wife, takes in marriage by the left hand, nor is permitted otherwise, nor their issue to inherit the crown.

After his many and great services, and notwithstanding his near alliance to the King, his master and brother, yet falling into his displeasure because, as he said, he was thought too much to favour the rights and freedom of his country (a crime unpardonable), he had his estate confiscated, and was himself forced, for the safety of his life, to fly out of his native country into Sweden for refuge, where persons in his condition have a kind of asylum afforded to them by the articles of the two Crowns.

He had much discourse of England, where he had been twice, and once with King Charles at York, after the troubles began, whom he said he observed not to take good advice in the government, and thereupon he imagined beforehand what had since come to pass.

He inveighed against the Archbishop Laud and others of his party, and highly commended the Earls

of Holland, Stafford, and others, who had been civil to him. He was excellent company, and Whitelocke made very good use thereof, by reason of the great knowledge and experience of this gentleman not only of the affairs of Denmark, but of most other states of Europe.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke some papers of intelligence, which he had from the French Court and from Holland, whereby it appeared that the peace was far advanced between France, Denmark, and the Dutch.

After all the business of this day, yet Whitelocke must make up his despatches for England, and had very many both public and private letters to write; and although himself wrote one, and at the same time dictated two other letters to his secretaries, which he was known frequently to do, yet he was fain to sit up almost all night before his packet could be finished.

December 31, 1653.

Mr. Clavinger, an English merchant at Stockholm, brought to Whitelocke two packets of letters from England, which came by the post. In them he had sad letters from his wife of her being ill, and of her grief for his absence. He had also several letters of news from private friends, and from the Secretary of the Council, Mr. Thurloe, an exact account concerning the Dutch treaty; that it yet proceeded but *lento pede*; that Chanut, the French Ambassador in Holland, laboured there to hinder it, and this he did underhand, but publicly spake wholly to further it; and the like was done by Bordeaux, the French Ambassador in

Despatches
from
England.

England ; but the Spaniard stood still and looked on ; of the business of the Highlanders in Scotland, and the inconsiderableness of them, with all other both foreign and domestic news of any consequence.

By this constant and perfect intelligence from Thurloe, Whitelocke had great advantage in his negotiation, being thereby enabled to give a perfect account of affairs, not only of his own country, but of most other places, to the great satisfaction of the Queen and her Court and grandees, with whom Whitelocke had frequent converse ; and from his private and public letters was able to satisfy their curious inquiries after news, so that it came to pass that no news, especially from England, was authentic until it were ratified by the English Ambassador, which raised the credit both of him and his intelligence.

He caused an abstract of his news to be written in French out of his letters, and carried it late that night to the Queen, who thanked him for it. The frost was so hard and slippery that he was fain to walk on foot, and to be supported by two of his servants.

Discourses
with the
Queen.

The Queen, among other things, fell into discourse with him concerning King James, who she had heard was poisoned, and his son Prince Henry also ; but Whitelocke declined this discourse, and to speak reproachfully of the dead. Then the Queen discoursed of the great Duke of Bucks (as she called him), and of his extraction and favour, whereof Whitelocke gave her a particular account ; and she demanding how he came to be so fully instructed of the Duke, his son, and family, he told her, there was a near alliance between the Duke and Whitelocke's children : whereof she was very inquisitive.

She also inquired concerning the old Earl of Arundel, the Countess of Kent, and divers of our nobility ; and of Mr. Selden, Patrick Young, some of the bishops, and divers others of our learned men, of whom Whitelocke was able to give her an account, and did no injury to any of them ; insomuch that the Queen said she marvelled to hear one give so full an account of so many, and not to speak reproachfully of any of them, not of an enemy, but to give every one his due.

Whitelocke told her that he held it disingenuous to reproach princes or any others behind their backs, and more honourable to speak plainly to themselves, than to backbite any one. The Queen said that was honourable and very becoming a gentleman.

She then commended the library at St. James's, and the rare manuscripts there, of some whereof she desired to get copies. Whitelocke told her he was the more capable to serve her therein because he was keeper of that library ; and promised at his return to England to endeavour to do her Majesty that service which she desired.

One would have imagined that England had been her native country, so well was she furnished with the characters of most persons of consideration there, and with the story of the nation, and full of inquiries touching those matters ; wherein Whitelocke found his having been acquainted with persons and affairs to be a great advantage to him.

The Queen spake much for the King of Spain's being taken into the alliance with England and Sweden ; and Whitelocke prayed her to put it into her memoir of proposals, and he would transmit it to his superiors.

She told Whitelocke, she wondered that he had no letters from his General, and said she used to write to her foreign public ministers; but Whitelocke said his General seldom did so, but those letters were from the Council of State.

She desired Whitelocke's assistance in a business in England concerning one of her servants, the Lady Jane Ruthven, daughter to General Ruthven; wherein Whitelocke promised his service.

He heard there would be a ball tomorrow at the Court, and that he should be invited to it; but by intimation to Grave Tott and Senator Vanderlin, to excuse him if he were thought on,—that neither he nor any of his company could be there, because it was the Lord's Day,—he prevented the invitation and his denial of it.

JANUARY.

◆—

*January 1, 1653.**

It being made known to Whitelocke by his officers that some of his family had been disorderly and transgressed his orders, he thought fit to begin the new year with an admonition to them : and this being the Lord's Day, after the morning sermon, himself spake to them to this effect :—

White-
locke's ex-
hortation
on the New
Year.

“We have received good and seasonable instructions by the sermon this morning, to which I shall take the liberty of a small addition, as father of the family, wishing and endeavouring the good of your souls and bodies.

“I am sorry that my words to some of you must be as the Apostle said, ‘We hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies.’

“Some of you go to Court or meeting with strangers, perhaps employed to sift you, gain from you characters of some of your company or of your ruler, unbefitting you to give, and prejudicial to what we all wish ; they talk of news and business above their capacity. The Apostle gives such a character—‘They are unruly and vain talkers ; they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house ; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not.’ Such, I hear, is the condition and

* [The Old Style being retained, the year 1654 does not commence till the 25th of March. It is however remarkable that Whitelocke speaks of “beginning the New Year” on this day.]

carriage of some of you. It is unworthy in any ; it is such as I shall not tolerate, and therefore admonish such as are conscious of this fault to reform it.

“ Others among you, I hear, are idle : inferiors not doing the work appointed them, and superiors spending their precious time vainly. This is a fault to be reprov'd, and it seems strange to me that any who can read should so lose their hours and not know what to do, when there are Bibles to be had among us, the reading whereof is the most delightful subject in the world to any soul enlightened with the least spark of grace. This vice and sin of idleness I exhort you to reform, lest the curse fall upon you which the wise man prophesieth, ‘ Slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep, and an idle soul shall suffer hunger.’

“ Idleness is a temptation to debauchery. I cannot tell, saith one, how to pass the time ; and therefore goes with others into a house of drunkenness or other wickedness. For shame ! do not say you know not how to pass the time, when you have civil company to discourse of good things, when you have books, when the Bible is not prohibited. Your time passeth away fast enough, and the youngest or best of you cannot recall a moment of it.

“ Give no cause to strangers to reproach you, to say, Behold these English professors infected with the worst of vices ! Remember the great goodness of God to us in our preservation by sea and land, in remote countries, in greatest difficulties and dangers ; let this love of God constrain us to repentance and amendment of life. Such disorders as I hear of, and some of you know that you have fallen into, I must not, I cannot, I will not bear. We ought to walk in some measure answerable to the mercies we have received, which if we do, we shall thereby bring honour to our God, to our country, to our profession of religion, and to ourselves ; but if we walk disorderly, we shall dishonour the name of God, disgrace our dear country, scandalize our religion, and bring contempt and punishment upon ourselves : to avoid which, let us not be want-

ing in our own endeavours, nor in our humble prayers to God. Let every one watch over himself, and over one another, and I shall with my best care watch over you all, and shall not afford the least connivance to any breach of my orders.

“ I hear of a ball or dancing this night intended at the Court ; most of you know the issue of the like in England. You all know I prohibit not honest, lawful recreations ; but where sin accompanies them, I shall bear my testimony against them. Such I account this ball on this day, and therefore have refused to be present at it, and strictly do forbid you all that not one of my company do appear at it. The Apostle’s rule is safe, ‘ Abstain from all appearance of evil.’ ”

This being New Year’s Day, the Queen’s guards, trumpets, drummers, huntsmen, forty lacqueys, coachmen, and other servants, came to Whitelocke’s lodging and desired New Year’s gifts with strange earnestness, and dishonourably enough.

Whitelocke being informed that it was usual for ambassadors to bestow these New Year’s gifts, and considering how needy and clamorous these persons were, did think fit to bestow something upon them ; and where he gave he did it liberally, suitable to his quality and the honour of his country.

The master of the ceremonies came to town this day (the usual time of their travel), visited Whitelocke, whom he acquainted with the want of beds and accommodations for his servants, which he promised should be supplied.

January 2, 1653.

More of the Queen’s servants came for New Year’s gifts, and were not to be denied.

White-
locke's
accom-
modation.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and, asking him how he was accommodated, Whitelocke told him that in ten days' time which he had been here he could not procure beds for his servants neither for money nor by the Queen's officers, who excused it upon the boors' disobeying orders for it; but his people, and consequently himself, could not long continue here without them in this season. Piementelle blamed the officers, and said he would acquaint the Queen with it, and that it should be remedied. Yet this unhand-some and uncharitable neglect towards strangers was continued by the Queen's officers a long time after, and money could not remedy it; but Whitelocke feared sickness in his family by it. Their best comfort was good fires, whereof Whitelocke did not stint them; so that he usually spent in one day in his house thirty of their loads of wood, which is about fifteen of our loads.

Queen
Christina
sledging.

Whilst Piementelle and Whitelocke were discoursing, the Queen came by through the town in her sledge, with divers of her ladies and servants waiting on her in sledges, to take the air.

These sledges are neatly made, most of them curiously wrought and carved, some richly painted and gilded; the shape of them is not unlike a little ship-boat, but shorter; they are fastened upon two pieces of timber, one upon each side, which carry them up, and smoothly slide upon the ice and frozen snow. They are made generally but for one person to sit in: behind the sledge, upon one of the pieces of timber, he stands that guides the sledge-horse by a long rein. When the Queen rides, commonly some earl or other great gallant guides the sledge; the ladies

have their gallants also, to whom they allow the like honour.

The sledge is drawn by one horse, whose harness they covet to have very rich, according to their qualities; many of them are set with studs of silver, and thick with little bells of silver or of brass, which make a cheerful and great noise and jingle, being shaken by a large trotting horse, and when a dozen of them pass together; yet they go easier than our wherries.

The inside of the sledge is usually lined, the bottom and sides of it with bear's skin or some other fur. The ladies take the air in them in the winter-time, when they are only useful in the midday, the sun then generally shining clear and warm, and no wind stirring, which makes it pleasant; but if there be the least wind, it cuts so sharp that there is no pleasure to go abroad.

The ladies and their sleddiers are very gallant, with great plumes in their hats; and the horses have the like on their heads and buttocks.

Piementelle staying with Whitelocke above three hours, he was entertained with Whitelocke's music. White-locke's music. The *rector chori* was Mr. Ingelo, excellent in that as in other faculties, and seven or eight of his gentlemen, well skilled both in vocal and instrumental music; and Whitelocke himself sometimes in private did bear his part with them, having been in his younger days a master and composer of music. He thought it not unseasonable in the long winter nights to use this recreation, and thereby his people were the better kept together, and from disorderly going abroad. Piementelle highly and deservedly commended

Whitelocke's music, and acquainted the Queen with it, who was a great lover thereof.

Queen
Christina's
letter to
Charles II.

At this time, in great secresy, Piementelle gave unto Whitelocke a copy of the letter which the Queen told Whitelocke she received from the King of Scots, and he believed she contrived it to be thus conveyed to Whitelocke. The letter was this :^{*}—

“Monsieur mon Frère,

“Le Chevalier Ballendin m’a rendu la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m’écrire, et m’a proposé la commission dont vous l’avez chargée. Il a agi en tout en homme d’honneur, et a témoigné autant de fidélité et de zèle pour votre service, que vous pourriez désirer de lui. Je lui dois ce témoignage, afin que vous ne lui imputiez pas le mauvais succès de la négociation. C’est l’injure du sort qui rend vos maux incurables ; et je m’estime malheureuse d’être en état de n’y pouvoir apporter du remède. Vous aurez sans doute la bonté de souffrir que vos amis aient soin de leurs intérêts, lorsqu’ils se jugent inutiles aux vôtres. Je vous avoue avec regret, que je le suis plus que personne, et que je ne puis consentir aux propositions que vous me faites sans préjudice au bien d’un état dont les intérêts me doivent être chers par dessus de toute autre considération. Je souhaite cependant que le temps, qui apporte remède à toute sorte de maux, achève enfin vos adversités ; et qu’il me fasse naître des occasions de les soulager, sans contrevenir aux obligations qui seules peuvent tout sur moi.

“Je suis votre très-affectionnée Sœur,

“CHRISTINE.

“Monsieur mon Frère.”

After some discourse upon this letter, Piementelle took his leave of Whitelocke.

^{*} [*Sic in orig.* The letter however is not that of Charles II., but Queen Christina's answer to that Prince, which she caused Whitelocke to see as a proof of her fair dealing towards the Commonwealth.]

Whitelocke was earnestly solicited by an Italian gentleman, who styled himself “le premier valet de la garderobe de sa Majesté” (first servant of her wardrobe), that his goods being taken by a private man-of-war of England, that Whitelocke would procure the restitution of them; and he, finding the gentleman in favour with the Queen, promised to write to England, which he did, for that purpose.

One Toby Tredorus, a German, a kind of agent in this Court for the towns of Stettin, Stralsund, and other ports and places in Pomerland, by command, as he said, of his superiors, made application to Whitelocke to mediate with the Parliament that the ships of those towns might have free passage by sea without disturbance of the Parliament’s ships; and in order thereunto, he presented to Whitelocke a printed book of Latin verses describing the situation and commodities of those towns, and a letter in Latin containing his request, wherein he gave the title of Most Serene and Most Potent Commonwealth of England. Whitelocke wrote to England about this matter.

January 3, 1653.

Upon the good success of the Queen’s servants, the lacqueys of Prince Adolphus came to Whitelocke to demand New Year’s gifts; but he sent them answer that he was no suitor at Court, nor had they done him any service, therefore he held himself not engaged to bestow New Year’s gifts on them.

Whitelocke was visited with great respect and proffer of service by Mr. Ravius, a German gentleman. He had formerly been in England, whither he came

Ravius relieved by
Whitelocke.

for the freedom of his conscience and religion. Those then in power in England finding him to be of extraordinary parts and learning, especially in the Eastern tongues, wherein he excelled most in this age, and coming to England as to a sanctuary, he was preferred to a professor's place in Oxford, and had his pension duly paid him. But shortly after, his learning being eminent, he was invited with large promises into Sweden, whither he went for his advantage; and in this University of Upsal was made Hebrew Professor, with a pension of 500 rix-dollars a year; but, as usual, this being long unpaid, Ravius fell into want, whereof he made complaint to Whitelocke, who pitying his condition, and finding that by his marriage with a bishop's daughter he had relations and interest with divers great men, who nevertheless would not supply his wants, Whitelocke thought good to supply them, and, by Mr. Ingelo his chaplain, sent him privately five pounds, which he scrupled not gratefully to accept.

By him Whitelocke had characters of several great men, and of their inclinations and affections to his business; and upon divers occasions Whitelocke employed him and made good use of him. He had rare Arabic manuscripts, which Whitelocke desired to have bought, but could not get them.

Lady Jane
Ruthven.

Whitelocke visited the Lady Jane Ruthven, concerning whom the Queen had spoken to him; and in that or any other business Whitelocke professed all readiness to do her service; which visit she took as a great respect, and told the Queen of it. And Whitelocke found that, among other visits, those to ladies are not unnecessary for an ambassador, especially in

the Court of a Queen, whose ear they have more than her counsellors; and in all States their influence in the highest affairs is not to be despised.

Whitelocke received civilities and respect from divers of the Queen's ladies, with whom he had sometimes opportunity to discourse when he waited on the Queen; and most of them had the French language; and therefore Whitelocke took occasion sometimes to visit them, and to discourse with them in drollery, yet of such matters as he was willing should come to the Queen's ear, and he knew the ladies would not fail to relate to her Majesty; and this he found they did, and not to the disadvantage of him or his business, through the good opinion which his civility had gained them.

Meredith was sent to Court with the present of Mr. Peters to the Queen, who merrily and with expressions of contentment accepted of them, though from so mean a hand: so far is she from pride or any show of scornfulness.

January 4, 1653.

This course was constantly observed by Whitelocke in all his visits, that he never gave any to persons, of what quality soever, who had not first visited him; and then he was obliged by the common rules of civility and the usages of all places, especially of these countries, to requite every visit, or else great exceptions would be taken, and censures of pride in the neglect of them: they serve public ministers for the carrying on their business, which is hindered by the omission of them.

White-
locke's
visits of
civility.

The kindness of the visits works much upon the spirits of those people; and the freedom of discourse then, more than at the formal meetings, doth ripen and facilitate their business.

They wondered at the order of our Parliament prohibiting their Members to visit or confer with foreign public ministers; whereby the statesmen here were of opinion that the Parliament retarded their own business, and showed a strange jealousy of one another, and a distrust of the fidelity of their friends: a humour usual among the Italians, and the Venetians have the like order against visits of public foreign ministers. But they said that the Northern people were most plain-hearted, used to more freedom in their discourses and visits, and of a better nature than so to suspect one another; that if a man were dishonest, and designed to betray his trust, such an order would be little obstacle, but easily deluded; but by this use of visiting one another, and of a frankness in their conferences, they found good advantage in their business, and the protraction and delay thereof to be much avoided.

On this subject, among other things, Whitelocke had discourse this day with Mnr. Woolfeldt, whom he visited and spent much time in his good company, from whom he learned many things of great consequence, and received of him sundry most material matters relating to the peace of England, whereof Whitelocke gave account by letters in cipher to the Council and to the General in England, to whom he also sent a copy of the King of Scots' letter to the Queen of Sweden.

January 5, 1653.

Whitelocke had a private audience with the Queen A private audience of the Queen. above two hours together. She was pleased first to discourse of private matters.

Queen. Hath your General a wife and children?

Whitelocke. He hath a wife and five children.

Qu. What family were he and his wife of?

Wh. He was of the family of a baron, and his wife the like from Bourchiers.

Qu. Of what parts are his children?

Wh. His two sons and three daughters are all of good parts and liberal education.

Qu. Some unworthy mention and mistakes have been made to me of them.

Wh. Your Majesty knows that to be frequent; but from me you shall have nothing but truth.

Qu. Much of the story of your General hath some parallel with that of my ancestor Gustavus the First, who, from a private gentleman of a noble family, was advanced to the title of Marshal of Sweden, because he had risen up and rescued his country from the bondage and oppression which the King of Denmark had put upon them, and expelled that king; and for his reward he was at last elected King of Sweden, and I believe that your General will be King of England in conclusion.

Wh. Pardon me, Madam, that cannot be, because England is resolved into a Commonwealth; and my General hath already sufficient power and greatness as General of all their forces both by sea and land, which may content him.

Qu. Resolve what you will, I believe he resolves to

be king ; and hardly can any power or greatness be called sufficient, when the nature of man is so prone, as in these days, to all ambition.

Wh. I find no such nature in my General.

Qu. It may easily be concealed till an opportunity serve, and then it will show itself.

Wh. All are mortal men, subject to affections.

Qu. How many wives have you had ?

Wh. I have had three wives.

Qu. Have you had children by all of them ?

Wh. Yes, by every one of them.

Qu. Pardieu, vous êtes incorrigible !

Wh. Madam, I have been a true servant to your sex ; and as it was my duty to be kind to my wives, so I count it my happiness and riches and strength to have many children.

Qu. You have done well ; and if children do prove well, it is no small nor usual blessing.

Much more discourse her Majesty moved of private matters, whereby she made experiment if the truth would be told her, it appearing that the particulars were known to her before, and that she had good intelligence. She was pleased with some earnestness to say—You are hypocrites and dissemblers.

Wh. For myself I can have little of design, especially in your country, to dissemble. I always hated hypocrisy as a thing unworthy a Christian or a gentleman ; and my General hath not been charged with that odious crime.

Qu. I do not mean either your General or yourself, but I think that in England there are many who make profession of more holiness than is in them, hoping for advantage by it.

W^h. I doubt there may be some such in England, especially in this time, when, through the goodness of God, religion is become the chief interest of the nation, and there are of these likewise in other countries; but when they come to be found out with us (as such cannot be long undiscovered) they lose their aim and credit, and their dissembling is scorned and punished.

Qu. Is dancing prohibited in England?

W^h. Some there do not approve it, but it is not prohibited by any law, and many there do use it. But I am loth to speak my poor opinion on this argument, lest I may give offence to your Majesty.

Qu. I pray speak freely; it will not offend me, but I shall take it well from you.

W^h. Then, Madam, with all due regard and submission to your better judgement, give me leave to say that to have balls, dancing, and such pastimes upon the Lord's Day, I humbly apprehend to be displeasing to God, who hath commanded that day to be set apart for His special worship and service, and no works except of mercy and necessity are to be done on that day, much less sports to be used. There is time enough besides, and upon other days dancing and other harmless and honest recreations are and may be used; and I humbly present it to your Majesty's judgement whether it may not offend God to allow any profanation of His day, which is too common here and elsewhere; and I doubt not but your Majesty looks upon it as your particular duty to give a good example herein to your people, and not to permit balls on that day. You will do an act of piety, and most becoming a Christian Queen, to restrain and punish the sin of profanation of the Lord's Day, as likewise

swearing and debauchery, too much used and countenanced in these parts ; and pardon me, Madam, if I say I think God requires this at your hands.

This, and much more to the like effect, Whitelocke spake with plainness, yet fitting respects and apologies to the Queen, hoping that God did put it into his heart to speak thus freely to her in a matter wherein the honour of God was so much concerned ; and it took so good effect, that after that the Queen had no more balls in her Court on the Lord's Day.

After these discourses the Queen fell upon the business of the Sound, to the like effect as formerly, and said to Whitelocke :—

Queen. Have you power to consent to such proposals as I shall make touching the Sound ?

Whitelocke. According to the memoir which I have given in, I have power to conclude.

Qu. That is very much, and the things in that memoir are very reasonable ; but as to any particulars concerning the Sound, have you any power to conclude ?

Wh. I cannot tell whether my power will extend to the particulars until I know what the particulars are ; and then, in case I have not power to conclude, I shall presently transmit them to my superiors, who will give further directions as shall be reasonable.

Qu. It may be inconvenient for me to make proposals in such a business as this, and then perhaps be denied ; and so I should incur very great prejudice.

Wh. Madam, the same objection might have been made by me as to my delivering in of proposals to your Majesty ; but to avoid the objection, if you please to give your proposals in writing to me, I will send

them as from myself to my superiors, as things collected by me upon discourse. Yet pardon me if I see not the reason why your Majesty should stick at making proposals to the Parliament more than the Parliament did at making proposals to your Majesty.

Qu. What way must this business of the Sound be done?

Wh. I know but two ways—by sea and by land, and both will be here necessary.

Qu. How many ships do you think the Parliament will lend me for this design?

Wh. I believe they will send a considerable number of ships upon this or any other design to be undertaken by them.

Qu. I desire but twenty or thirty ships, and that the Parliament, with the residue of their fleet, would attend the Hollanders.

Wh. It is probable that the Hollanders, upon such a design, may advance with their fleet to the Sound.

Qu. Then they will be between my fleet and twenty English ships on the one side, and the residue of the English fleet on the other side. I do not desire above twenty or thirty English ships, and some money.

Wh. England hath great occasions for money for the pay of their armies and great navies, especially in this time of their wars, both at land and sea; and this will be principally your Majesty's business, to open the trade into your seas, and I suppose you will not expect ships and money too from others to do your work.

Qu. I am in great want of money, and England hath money enough.

Wh. They have enough for their occasions.

Qu. And some to spare, which I have not.

Wh. I do not see your Majesty to waste the revenues of your Crown in gallantry of clothes for your own person.

Qu. I am the least curious in clothes of any woman, especially now I am in the country.

Wh. Your wearing plain clothes makes them rich.

Qu. My Chancellor will be in town shortly.

Wh. Your Majesty is happy in such a servant, of so great wisdom, experience, and fidelity.

Qu. He is a very able and honest man; he understands this business well. I will give you a memoir concerning the Sound.

It was not thought fit by Whitelocke to press this business further, upon this hint that the Chancellor was expected, whom he hoped to find a friend to him and his business, as he really proved; and Whitelocke thought, that if he should proceed too far before the old man came, he might be displeased, which he was the more cautious to avoid, upon something spoken by Monsieur Berkman.

Berkman.

This person was a burgher's son of Stockholm, and having travelled and gained some languages and learning, he was sent as secretary to Lagerfeldt into England, where he came acquainted with Whitelocke, who, being to take his journey as Ambassador to Sweden, Lagerfeldt desired that Berkman might accompany Whitelocke in his voyage to take care of his accommodations. Whitelocke thought not fit to deny this, though he believed and found that he would be rather a spy than a friend, and more chargeable than useful. Yet in the voyage he treated him with all courtesy, and by discourse got as much as

he could out of him concerning the Queen and her councils, and the public persons and affairs of his country.

At Gothenburg he seemed officious, and from thence posted to Court to acquaint them with Whitelocke's arrival, and returned with great speed, and took pains by the way for Whitelocke's accommodations.

At Upsal he was very conversant in Whitelocke's family, and respectfully used, and the more because he had gotten a little English. Whitelocke disliked his people being much with him, who was excessively given to the common vice of tippling; and in his cups (as Whitelocke was this day informed by Mr. Claveing) he would abusively rant against the Commonwealth of England and their Ambassador, saying that no justice could be had in England for the Swedish ships detained there as prize; that he knew no reason why the English Ambassador should have any respect in Sweden till their people had right in England; that the Chancellor was expected suddenly here, would take order that Whitelocke should not have so much favour here till the Swedes had more justice in England, with the like speeches.

Whitelocke took no notice hereof, but (as ambassadors must do) continued his civilities to Berkman; but when he was filled with good meat and drink at Whitelocke's table, before him and others, Whitelocke took occasion to discourse of the Swedish ships carrying contraband goods to the Dutch, for which they were detained prize; and vindicated the honour and justice of the Parliament, and their respects to their friends, particularly to the Swedes, whereof he gave instances; which Berkman was then so far from con-

tradicting, that he asserted the same things with Whitelocke, who, instead of contesting with Berkman, thought it better to stop his mouth with twenty pieces of English gold, which he now gave him, to defray his expenses from Gothenburg to the Court and back again, which he (after their custom) was not backward to accept; and by that, and the promise of a future reward when the treaty should be finished, he was made serviceable to it.

Whitelocke
goes to a
ball at
Court.

Matters of ceremony are here in great observance, and the neglect of them highly resented and offensive. This caused a great wariness in Whitelocke not to offend in that omission, the performance whereof was cheap and easy. Therefore he was therein observant to the great men, and especially to the Queen; and seeing the high esteem and pleasure which her Majesty had of balls, dancing, and music, which recreations being modestly and moderately used he held indifferent things, and not unlawful in themselves; and that it was fit for him, being invited by the Queen, to be present at them at fit times, lest he should be judged too severe and morose, and too much to censure those who used and delighted in them, and desired his company at them; and he having been before invited to a ball, and refusing to come because it was on the Lord's Day, being now again solemnly invited from the Queen herself to a ball this night at Court, he thought, if he should again refuse to come to it, the Queen might be distasted, and think her favour slighted. He therefore resolved to go to the ball this night; and after nine o'clock the master of the ceremonies, in a special compliment, brought two of the Queen's coaches to attend

him to the castle. When he came into the room where the Queen was, she bid him welcome with more than ordinary respect, and led him into a large room where she usually hears sermons, and at other times it is for music and dancing.

There was present a great number of ladies and gallants. Her chair of state was upon a foot-carpet; a little distance from it, on the right hand, were five or six stools, where Whitelocke sat next to the Queen, and after him Prince Adolphus and other grandees; on the left hand sat about twenty ladies, very gallant, after the French mode. The Queen's music was in a place behind the chair of state,—seven or eight violins, with bass-viol, flutes, and citherns,—perfect masters.

The Queen, with her ladies and courtiers, first danced the brawls, then French dances, in which the Lady Jane Ruthven took forth Captain Whitelocke; and he and several others of Whitelocke's gentlemen were taken forth by the Swedish ladies to dance English country dances; wherein the English gentlemen were expert, and taught them some new ones.

The Queen took delight in those English dances, and herself danced with more life and spirit than the rest of the ladies, or than any he had seen. She was pleased several times to do Whitelocke the honour to come to him and discourse with him whilst the rest were dancing. She asked him how he liked their sports. He told her he liked them very well, and thought himself in England. She asked, why so? He answered, because he saw the sports and dances of his own country so lively acted here. After he had fully commended the dancing, music, and company, and her Majesty, who was 'above all, about twelve o'clock

at night the meeting broke up, and Whitelocke was brought home again with the Queen's coaches.

The Reichshof Master Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern sent Whitelocke a piece of venison of an elk ; and he invited the Grave and Mr. Woolfeldt to come eat of it with him at dinner tomorrow.

January 6, 1653.

Whitelocke
gives a
dinner.

Mr. Woolfeldt, drolling with the Queen, told her, that the English Ambassador had wrought a great cure upon the Holland Resident, and had taught him a better garb and deportment, since his coming to Court, than he had before ; for now he did not hold up his head so high as formerly, nor was his gait so light and striking as it was before the coming of the English Ambassador, who had thereby much improved the Resident.

Woolfeldt and Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern came to dinner to Whitelocke. Oxenstiern gave the precedence to Woolfeldt, because he had been Reichshof-master of Denmark ; and such is the civility and courtesy of these countries, that what charge soever a man hath once had in public employment, as an ambassador, general, senator, and the like, though he be afterwards out of those offices, yet the title and precedence which he once had by them is afforded to him during his life.

And whereas the custom of England is, that the master of the house takes precedence of all others in his own house, as Whitelocke now did ; which, upon intimation from the master of the ceremonies, he afterwards rectified, it being the usage of these countries

for the master to give precedence to all of quality that come to him in his house : the stranger goes first into it, hath the place at the table, sitting down, and returning goes first out ; in which ceremonies they are very punctual ; and an ambassador sets every one of the Senatorian order at his own table before himself.

Prince Adolphus having appointed to give Whitelocke a visit this afternoon, Whitelocke appointed some of his lacqueys to attend and watch the Prince's coming, and to give him timely notice thereof, that he might meet the Prince at the door of his house ; but, through his servants' neglect, Whitelocke met the Prince a few steps short of his door, and then excused his neglect to the Prince, laying the fault upon his servants, whose it was ; yet the Prince was not satisfied, but afterwards spake of it at Court, and it came to the Queen's ear, to whom also Whitelocke made an apology for it ; and yet it was hardly pardoned.

The Superintendent of Gothenburg wrote a civil Latin letter to Whitelocke, to pray him to take occasion, in his discourse with the Queen, to mention the Superintendent's son for some preferment, which Whitelocke thought not proper for him, being ambassador from a foreign State, to do ; but having occasion given him by the Queen in her discourse, he commended James Lennæus, the Superintendent's son, to her Majesty, and it was his good fortune afterwards to have preferment.

January 7, 1653.

Visits were made by Whitelocke to Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern, who was senator, steward of the Queen's Visits to Swedish gentlemen.

house, and who had the charge of her sports of hunting and the like : he and his father are both senators, and his uncle the Chancellor and his two sons senators, and of that name and family together senators.

Also to Grave Bannier, governor of Upsal and the adjacent territory ; a gentleman well qualified, son to the General Bannier of whom is frequent mention in the story of King Gustavus ; and such is the honour of this State, that they are not only full of favour to their old servants themselves, but likewise to their children and relations.

He also visited the Baron Bond, a senator, a gentleman of good parts, and of an ancient and honourable extraction, some of his family having been elected kings. His name, Bond or Bundt, signifies as with us, a servant or bondman ; he had travelled much, and gained languages, particularly English, which he delighted to speak, and of England, where he had been. He was kinsman to the Chancellor, and in favour with him, which most of the grandees aimed at next to the Queen's.

These gentlemen had first visited Whitelocke, and were then and at this time full of civility and respect to him ; and he had opportunity by discourse with them to facilitate the business of his negotiation, wherein he omitted no occasion.

The Queen's Italian musicians came to hear the music in his house, and gave it great and due commendation.

The Chancellor came to town this day, and sent Mr. Berkman to Whitelocke the same day to visit him, who made many expressions of civility and compliment to him from the Chancellor.

January 8, 1653.

The Lord's Day; yet after sermons Whitelocke thought fit to send his son James to visit the Chancellor, and to congratulate his safe arrival at Upsal. Berkman accompanied James to the Chancellor's lodging, who received the message with great respect, and the more, as Berkman said, because it was delivered in Latin. He excused Whitelocke's ill entertainment by the way and here, which he said was not according as the Queen desired; he made many professions of his respect to the Commonwealth of England and to their Ambassador.

The Chancellor Oxenstiern arrives at Upsal.

Yet was there no compliment for a personal visit of one another. The master of the ceremonies and others pressed Whitelocke to make the first visit to the Chancellor, as a compliment expected from him, and which was done by other ambassadors to that great and prime minister of state, the Ricks-Chancellor. Whitelocke told them plainly, that unless the Chancellor did first visit him, that he would not visit the Chancellor; and this he did for the honour of his nation, and believing, as it fell out, that for this carriage, though towards himself, the Chancellor would have the better opinion of him. At this distance they stood: Whitelocke refusing to give the first visit because he was the Ambassador of England, which he did here represent, and the Chancellor was a subject in his own country.

The Queen heard of this, and seemed to expostulate why Whitelocke should not afford her servant the same respect as other ambassadors did, and was told that Whitelocke answered, that other men's actions

must not guide his, nor could they answer for his actions ; nor would he do anything which he doubted might reflect upon the honour of his nation, although others did so ; that if no question had been stirred about the first visit, he should not have insisted on it ; but the question being moved, he thought he could not do it without prejudice to the right of England. The Queen, when she saw Whitelocke would not be altered, said that he did herein like a person who understood his right and was careful of his nation's honour, which she commended, and said she would take order that her Chancellor should give Whitelocke the first visit.

Whitelocke was visited by the Syndic of Gothenburg, who had attended him in his journey to Upsal, and took much pains upon the way for horses, wag-gons, and other accommodations for Whitelocke and his-people ; in requital whereof Whitelocke thought fit to make him a present of thirty pieces of English gold, which without scruple was thankfully accepted.

January 9, 1653.

The Chan-
cellor visits
Whitelocke.

Presently after dinner, the Chancellor's secretary came to Whitelocke with a message from his lord, to know if he would be within at two o'clock ; the Chancellor would come to visit him. Whitelocke said he should take his visit for a great honour, and should be within. About three o'clock the Chancellor came. Whitelocke met him at the door of his house ; he was in his coach with six horses, though his lodging was not far off ; ten or twelve gentlemen, well

habited, walking on foot, and four lacqueys attended him.*

Whitelocke offered to conduct him into a lower chamber, because he understood it was troublesome to the old man to go up so many stairs as to his rooms of entertainment; and he was willing to accept of this ease, and was brought by Whitelocke into his steward's chamber, which he had caused to be hung with his own rich hangings full of silk and gold. He desired to sit with his back or one side to the fire, saying that the light of the fire was hurtful to his eyes.

He was a tall, proper, straight, handsome old man, of the age of seventy-one years; his habit was black cloth, a close coat lined with fur, a velvet cap on his

* [In an age fruitful in great statesmen, who laid the basis of the polity of modern Europe, no name deserves to be mentioned with greater reverence than that of Oxenstiern, who is here introduced to the reader. He was born in the province of Upland, in 1583; and having lost his father in early life, owed to his excellent mother the formation of his character and the rudiments of his education. His studies were extensive and profound, for he added to a familiar knowledge of the languages of diplomacy and of the world a critical acquaintance with the Greek tongue. At twenty-six he was employed by Charles IX. of Sweden in important negotiations, and soon afterwards took charge of the Government. In 1611, when Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne, Oxenstiern became his Chancellor and Chief Minister of State. He was the pillar of the realm throughout that glorious reign,—devoted alike to the honour of Sweden and to the defence of the Protestant cause in Europe. By his counsel peace was restored between Denmark and the Muscovites; and he stood by his master's side, in the vigour of manhood, to embark in the greatest contest of opinion and of power which the world had yet beheld. It is not my design to retrace in these narrow limits the part of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War; but after his fall at Lutzen it was the resolution and authority of Oxenstiern which enabled the Swedish generals and the Protestant League to pursue that policy for which their hero had

head furred, and no hat, a cloak, his hair grey, his beard broad and long, his countenance sober and fixed, and his carriage grave and civil.

He spake Latin, plain and fluent and significant ; and though he could, yet would not speak French, saying he knew no reason why that nation should be so much honoured more than others as to have their language used by strangers ; but he thought the Latin more honourable and more copious, and fitter to be used, because the Romans had been masters of so great a part of the world, and yet at present that language was not peculiar to any people.

In his conferences he would often mix pleasant stories with his serious discourses, and took delight in recounting former passages of his life, and actions

died ; it was his firmness in adversity which sustained their courage after the defeat of Nordlingen.

In these great transactions Oxenstiern had played one of the most prominent parts in Europe. He had negotiated with Richelieu at Paris. He had checked the domination of the House of Austria in Germany. It remained for him to support the daughter of his beloved Sovereign on the throne of Sweden. Christina herself was born on the 9th of December, 1626, and was but six years old when she ascended the throne, under a Regency consisting of five great officers of State. Of these Oxenstiern was the most respected by the nation, the most beloved by the Queen. Yet a more singular contrast could hardly be imagined than that which separated the adventurous and fantastic character of that Princess from the gravity and wisdom of the Minister. A faithful picture of both these remarkable personages will be found in these pages. Indeed it may be doubted whether any other record of the time, or any of the more stately annals of the period in which they lived, contains so lively and familiar an image of their lives and conversation as the narrative of Whitelocke. The negotiation here related was the last in which Oxenstiern was engaged. He had already entered his seventy-first year ; and on the 28th of August, 1654, he breathed his last, amidst the general sorrow of the nation he had governed so wisely and so long.]

of his King, and would be very large excusing his *senilis garrulitas*, as he termed it, the talkativeness of old-age ; but there was great pleasure to hear his discourses, and much wisdom and knowledge to be gathered from them.

After compliments passed, the Chancellor fell into discourse of the affairs of England and the grounds of our troubles, and seemed much pleased with the information therein given him by Whitelocke, and spake himself very knowingly of those matters. He recited at large the sending of his eldest son ambassador to our late King, and how he was used, wherein he seemed to retain some regret ; and he spake of the negotiations of Sir Thomas Rowe and of Sir Henry Vane in Germany, with all the passages thereof ; and observed, that when the Swedish forces lay still, then our late King would put them on, but when they had success he would then withdraw his assistance.

He mentioned the “*parvus Archipræsul*” and Weston Thesaurarius and others to have been of the Spanish faction, and went further, even to an endeavour to introduce Popery ; but Whitelocke said, that generally the good people of England did bear a great affection both to the affairs and person of King Gustavus.

They had full discourse about their business, the present treaty. Whitelocke said to him :—

Whitelocke. My Lord, I come to offer that which I apprehend will be for the honour and advantage of both nations ; and I desire a despatch as soon as conveniently may be, having many affairs in England to attend, by reason of my charge there, and having left a great family in my own country.

Whitelocke
opens to
Oxenstiern
the matter
of the
treaty.

Chancellor. The Commonwealth of England hath

testified a very great respect to the Queen, my mistress, and to the nation of Sweden, in sending your Excellence Ambassador hither. The Queen hath told me that she never received more contentment in conversing with any ambassador than with you ; and, for my part, I have a particular affection to your person, which I shall be ready to manifest ; and for the business, I do not doubt but it will receive such a good issue as shall be to the satisfaction of England and of their Ambassador. It is a matter of very great moment ; and as you in England have considered of it beforehand, so it is necessary to be considered by us here, and there shall be no unnecessary delay in it.

Wh. I am happy in the Queen's goodness and the respects of your Excellence to a stranger. I hope there will be no need of much time for this business, because many of the things offered by me are the same which were mentioned by the Queen's public ministers in England.

Chan. Many of those things are new and of great consequence ; and as you have had your instructions from your superiors, so I must have my instructions from the Queen, my mistress ; and there shall no long time pass before the business be brought to some ripeness.

Wh. Therein your Excellence will do me a great favour. I have heard that the Queen intends to go a journey shortly.

Chan. It is so reported, but uncertain ; and in case she do go, yet the business will be left in the hands of some of her servants, who will proceed in it without delay, though her Majesty be absent.

Wh. Your favour to me in my despatch will be ac-

knowledgeed by your servant ; and no person knows better how to do it than your Excellence.

Chan. I have been conversant in business* in my time, but for many years I was under a cloud and in some displeasure ; whereupon I thought fit to retire myself to a private life in the country, where, after all my troubles and toiling in the world, I did find more contentment than ever I met with in all my public employments.

Wh. How could you frame yourself to such a solitary way of retirement, who had before spent all your days in the midst of a throng of public and great affairs ? and, being old and unfit for study, how could you pass your time in that privacy ?

Chan. I had been so much wearied out in public and great actions, that this retirement and quiet proved the greater contentment to me. Business was a burden, and much company irksome, yet I was able to spend some of my time in study ; and chiefly, I may say solely, I did apply myself to the study of the Bible, wherein is all wisdom and the greatest delight to be found, and much more in the practice of that divine wisdom. You are a much younger man than I am, and possibly may have the like occasion of retirement as I had, but do not doubt of being in favour again ; and I counsel you to make the study and practice of the Word of God your chief contentment and delight, as it will be to every soul that savours the truths of God, which infinitely excel all worldly things.

Wh. I shall remember your words, and thank you for this good counsel of the truth ; of what you say I have formerly had some experience, and I hope that God will improve it to me in all conditions.

At this meeting the Chancellor inquired much of Whitelocke concerning Cromwell's age, health, children, family, temper, etc., and said that Cromwell was one of the gallantest men that this age had brought forth ; and the things which he had done argued as much courage and wisdom in him as any actions that the world had seen for many years. In which discourse Whitelocke did not omit to do right to the General and to the Parliament, and informed the Chancellor fully of their courses, actions, counsels, and successes : wherein the Chancellor seemed to receive much contentment, and said that he had discoursed with Whitelocke in the way of a friend, and as one that desired intimacy and familiar acquaintance with him ; which was most willingly accepted by Whitelocke, who endeavoured to gain the good opinion of the Chancellor, wherein God so blessed him that it proved of great advantage to his business.

January 10, 1653.

A visit to
the Spanish
Envoy.

A visit was made by Whitelocke to Piementelle, who in discourse told him for news, that an alliance was concluded between Holland and France, as he was certified.

He told Whitelocke also that his fleet, which attended him at Gothenburg, in their return to England fell upon some Dutch ships and took them. He heard likewise that the post this week had been robbed near to Antwerp, so that he doubted whether they should receive this week's letters.

They had much general discourse, the Spaniard being excellent good company ; and in the conclusion of

it, for a compliment, Piementelle told Whitelocke that tomorrow he would come and dine with Whitelocke, and bring his letters and papers along with him: for which freedom and kindness Whitelocke heartily thanked him, and promised he should find a friendly welcome.

The Senator Bund the younger gave Whitelocke a visit, and discoursed much of England.

January 11, 1653.

Piementelle came with much kindness and freedom, and dined with Whitelocke, who caressed him the best he could; and he seemed well pleased with his entertainment. After dinner they discoursed much of Spain, France, Holland, and of England, and Whitelocke's negotiation. Piementelle told Whitelocke that the last night, the Queen saying she had a desire to speak with Whitelocke, Piementelle offered to deliver her message to Whitelocke, which he now did: that her Majesty desired to speak with him about three o'clock this afternoon.

The Queen leaves Whitelocke to negotiate with Oxenstiern.

Accordingly Whitelocke went to Court, and was without delay admitted to the Queen's presence, who told him that she had a short journey to go into the country, and that she desired to speak with him before her going, that he might not think she had any intention of delaying his business; that she would return to Upsal within eight days, and in the time of her absence she had appointed the Chancellor to confer with Whitelocke about the proposals he had given in to her; and she said, that, because Whitelocke was a stranger to her Chancellor, she herself would tell him

the Chancellor's condition, and how he should treat with him.

She then told Whitelocke that her Chancellor was an old man of great experience in business, and perhaps, in conference with him, might propound or insist upon some things which Whitelocke would not have expected, and that this might be with some earnestness ; that yet Whitelocke should do well to debate freely and courteously with him ; and if thereupon the Chancellor would be satisfied, all would be well ; but in case he could not satisfy the Chancellor, that then it must come to the Queen, and that she would strike the stroke between them in any difference of opinion.

Whitelocke received this intimation with much thankfulness, and looked upon the kindness and freedom of it from her Majesty as a very great testimony of her respect to the Commonwealth of England and to their servant, and no small argument of her good inclinations to the business propounded, which he endeavoured to improve to the best advantage thereof.

He told the Queen that his business was with her, and she only was to be the judge in all matters which he had propounded or should propound ; that he found her sufficiently capable to give her own resolutions upon the most difficult points ; that she having been pleased, as was necessary for her own case, to refer the debate of these points to her Chancellor, that he would attend and endeavour to give him satisfaction, if reason and interest would do it, as he hoped they would ; if not, he was sure they would prevail with her Majesty, by whom he was glad he should receive the determination of his business, to

whom only it appertained, and whom he rather should wait upon in this or any other business than any person alive.

Then the Queen fell into discourse concerning the opinions of religion in England; then touching consubstantiation, the power of God, the immortality of the soul, and the like; wherein she argued with much wit and knowledge, having had discourse upon the same matters with those learned men about her whom she had gotten from all parts.

She was pleased to tell Whitelocke that she received much satisfaction from him. She called for stools, and sat herself, and caused Whitelocke to sit down, which favour she doth not afford to other ambassadors; but told Whitelocke she heard that he was lame, and therefore she would sit herself, that so he might sit likewise, and not be put to the penance of standing so long time together as their discourse lasted. She desired Whitelocke not to acquaint any person whatsoever with some of the passages between them, which Whitelocke promised and observed.

He then told her Majesty he was fearful lest by his long stay (having been above two hours with her) he might hinder her greater affairs or be tedious; and he desired not to give her Majesty offence either in going or in staying, but he heard that the Danish Ambassador was without, attending to speak with her Majesty; to which she answered to Whitelocke that his company was very pleasing to her, and that he need not to go away because of the Danish Ambassador, who, she said, might wait still. In all the time of her discourse with Whitelocke she used much freedom and great respect to him; and what he informed

her touching the affairs of England she took for granted.

January 12, 1653.

Visits of
Lagerfeldt
and the
younger
Oxenstiern.

This morning Lagerfeldt visited Whitelocke, with whom he discoursed touching his negotiation and of the Chancellor's sense of it, which Lagerfeldt said was very well, and he doubted not but there would be a good issue of it. By conference with this gentleman Whitelocke endeavoured to get from him what he could of the Chancellor's opinion and discourse about it, Lagerfeldt being an intimate servant to the Chancellor, altogether conversant with him; and Whitelocke so wrought the matter that he gained much from him, especially after a kind and free entertainment, which Whitelocke often bestowed on him.

Grave Eric Oxenstiern visited Whitelocke. He is second son to the Chancellor, a gentleman of excellent parts and personage, a senator, and in good repute with the nation and favour with the Queen. He had in possession (as was reported) for his own maintenance £10,000 sterling for his yearly revenue, which was fair for a younger brother in his father's lifetime.

He first spake to Whitelocke in Latin, and afterwards continued his discourse in French.

He gave a good description of the posts belonging to Sweden on the Baltic Sea, particularly of Stettin, Revel, and Narva. Revel he held to be the best port, but Narva the nearest for the trade of Russia, and most convenient by the rivers for transportation of commodities, but the entrance to the harbour is somewhat difficult; that Riga also is of great advantage for the trade of hemp and flax.

When the son was gone, Whitelocke visited the father, the Chancellor, and had this discourse with him.

Discourse
with Oxen-
stiern on
the Govern-
ment of
England.

Whitelocke. Yesterday I was with the Queen, who told me that she was going out of town, but that she had referred the proposals which I tendered to her to be conferred upon by yourself and me; and whensoever your Excellence will agree upon a time for our meeting, I shall be ready on my part.

Chancellor. The Queen hath given me direction in that business; but I cannot think of a time of meeting about it before her going away, because tomorrow I am to wait upon her, and on Saturday she intends to take her journey; after which a time may be appointed to confer about your business.

Wh. Your own time shall suit with my occasions.

Chan. In the meanwhile I shall make some general questions to you for my own satisfaction, which I hope you will not take amiss, nor esteem it a needless curiosity in me, or a blaming of your proceedings.

Wh. I shall endeavour your satisfaction, and with equal freedom of discourse.

Chan. I desire to know what stability and settlement there is in your Commonwealth and Government, and how it came to pass that the late Parliament, which they called by the late King's authority, was dissolved, and another constituted, which, some report, may probably be as soon dissolved as the other was; and then how shall our treaty have a good and fixed foundation?

Wh. It is very necessary that, in the first place, you should have satisfaction in these points, without which any conferences on particulars will be useless. We hold the Government of England, as to the fun-

damentals of it, to be the same now as when we had a King;—the same laws, the same supreme power, and the same magistrates.

Foreign negotiations, matters of peace and war, raising of moneys, and making of laws, were the proper businesses of Parliaments in the time of our Kings, so admitted by the best and most successful of them; and though some of them, growing in power, would encroach more than others, yet all acknowledged the power of Parliaments in those matters, and so it is still.

Anciently, by our laws, a new Parliament was to be called every year, or oftener; it being the constitution of the English polity not to have the supreme and legislative power continue too long in the same hand. But there was a necessity, by reason of our troubles and engagements, for the long continuance of the late Parliament, and an Act by consent of the King for it; and when after the troubles were ended by the entire conquest of the Parliament over their enemies, and God had given them peace and freedom, it was then thought reasonable, not only by others, but by that Parliament also, to put a period to their own sitting, and a new Parliament to be chosen. But before that day the late Parliament rose, and a new one was constituted, which is now sitting, for whose rising a day is also to be prefixed, and a new one to be chosen. And in case there should be a new Parliament every year or every month, though the persons be changed, yet it is a Parliament still, and the government the same by Parliament; which was the ancient constitution of the polity of our nation, continued to our times, wherein the King was the supreme officer; but that office being taken away, and the nation, by the

same Act of Parliament, resolved into a Commonwealth and free State, the Government (as the same Act declares) continues still by successive Parliaments ; and I hope will continue so, without any danger of unsettledness or change.

Chan. Do you hold kingly government to be unlawful, that you have abolished it ?

Wh. Every government which the people chooseth is certainly lawful, whether kingly or other ; and that to be accounted best which they, by their representatives, do make choice of as best for them and their condition.

Chan. You have given me a full and satisfactory account that you are a fixed Commonwealth, with whom we may safely treat ; and I would know what you desire of us.

Wh. I desire nothing from you ; I come not to you in a precarious way, *non ut cliens, sed ut amicus*. My business is to make you an offer of that which is worthy acceptance by any prince in Europe, the friendship of the Commonwealth of England, which if you please upon just and honourable terms to embrace, it will be for your advantage as well as ours ; if not, yourselves will have as much prejudice as any other by the refusal.

Chan. You are quick upon the apprehension of reflection upon the honour of your nation.

Wh. My affection and duty to my country will plead in my excuse.

Chan. I am so far from censuring you for it, that I cannot but commend you ; and your humour gains so much upon me, that though you will not be a suitor to us here, for which you have reason, yet I will be a

particular suitor to you, that our acquaintance and friendship may be intimate and familiar; the which I have not been used to pray from public ministers, though I have had to deal with many of them.

Wh. You reprove me so fatherly, and put so great an obligation and honour upon me, that I cannot with sufficient gratitude acknowledge it, or hold myself worthy of so much honour from you; but since your great judgement allows it me, I shall not question, but endeavour a merit of it, and promise to be a most faithful servant to so noble a friend, who takes care of a stranger at so great a distance from his friends and country. And though I cannot make a suit on the behalf of my superiors to this or any other State, yet, on the behalf of myself, to you I can and do make this suit: You have many sons, adopted as well as natural, and persons of great esteem, that I might be held worthy to be ranked in their number. You are the greatest and the eldest Chancellor in Christendom; I have something to do in the Chancery of England; give me leave to hold it under the title of your son, and I hope I shall not defame my father.

Chan. You deserve much more honour than is in my power to give you. If you account this any (as his Royal Highness is pleased to take it), I do most freely adopt you one of my sons, and therein take the honour to be done to myself, and shall assure you by real demonstrations that I will have the care and affection of a father for you, and that not only in your present business, but in any other wherein you may be concerned.

This discourse and compliment proved to the advantage of Whitelocke and his business; and after

three hours' time (which he used not to afford to other ambassadors) it concluded with discourse of the Earl of Essex, wherein Whitelocke was able to inform him; and he related to Whitelocke the passages of Marquis Hamilton in Germany with the English army, which through want of knowledge in the Marquis in military affairs, and of care to provide for them, perished.

January 13, 1653.

Berkman brought to Whitelocke the great news of the dissolving the Parliament in England, and that the General was made Supreme Governor. Whitelocke asked him if Lagerfeldt and the Chancellor had news of it; he said they had, and that it was very certain, but of the particulars and manner thereof he knew nothing. The same news was brought to Whitelocke by Mr. Butler, a Scottish merchant, out of the Holland gazettes, which related all to be in confusion in England. Many thoughts hereupon were fluctuating in Whitelocke's mind, and pondered by him; and he being desirous to see how this news relished at Court, and what countenance the Queen would have towards him upon such a change, he sent to desire an audience; and before his messenger returned, the Queen sent Grave Tott to him to congratulate the good news from England and the access of honour to his General.

The change
of Govern-
ment in
England.
Oliver
Cromwell
made Pro-
tector and
Supreme
Governor.

In the afternoon Whitelocke attended the Queen, and was admitted into her bedchamber, where she told him the news with much seeming joy, and that Bonnele and divers others had written it from London; and asked him—

Queen. Have you yet received your letters of it?

Whitelocke. Not yet, Madam ; but have reason to believe the news, and to expect your Majesty's inclinations thereupon.

Qu. Par Dieu ! I bear the same respect, and more, to your General and to you than I did before ; and I had rather have to do with one than with many.

Wh. I may very well believe it ; and return thanks to your Majesty for the continuance of your respects to England and to my General, and to his servant. Your Majesty understands he hath a new title, but his power was not mean before.

Qu. It was very great before, and I think it greater now, and therefore better for England, but subject to envy. And I tell you under secresy, that my Chancellor would formerly have been so in Sweden when I was young, but could not attain it. But if he was my enemy, yet I should say that he is a wise and a gallant man ; and if your General were the greatest enemy I have, yet I should give him his due, that he is a wise and brave man, and hath done the greatest things of any man alive. I much desire his friendship, and am heartily glad of his present condition.

Wh. I shall not fail to acquaint him fully with your Majesty's great respect to him.

This was looked upon by Whitlocke as a great confidence by the Queen in him ; and when, because he had not his letters, she again offered that they might be sent under her cover, and that Bonnele should take care of them, he mannerly waived it.

In the evening Whitlocke's letters were brought to him from the post, wherein Thurloe gave him a particular account of the change in England, and the manner, and all passages of it ; and in his letters

were new credentials for Whitelocke to the Queen, signed, “Vester bonus amicus, OLIVARIUS P.” He had also new instruction, signed alike, to proceed in the treaty with the Queen according to his former instructions; and he had the news of the Dutch treaty, upon this occasion a little at a stand, and the news of France and of foreign states relating to England. He had also by this packet a copy of the instrument of Government agreed upon, and sworn by the Protector to be observed upon this change.

He perceived that the Queen and her Court were very much pleased with it; many of her officers and servants expressed more than ordinary satisfaction by it. Whilst himself was ruminating upon it, one of the Queen’s secretaries, by her order, came to Whitelocke, to whom he communicated part of his news, and told him that he desired to wait upon the Queen again when her leisure would permit, this evening or tomorrow.

The secretary went presently to the castle, and returned answer to Whitelocke that the Queen desired he would come to her that night, which he did, though very late, and between them was this discourse:—

Queen. Sir, you are welcome still to me, and, if possible, more than before the change.

*Queen
Christina
approves
the change.*

Whitelocke. Madam, it is your goodness and favour to a gentleman, a stranger in your country, who truly honours your Majesty; and you are pleased to show much respect to my General.

Qu. Your General is a gallant man, and you are fit to serve any prince in Christendom.

Wh. I may without vanity think the better of him and of myself, because of your Majesty’s judgement.

Qu. My judgement is, that your affairs in England are much amended and better established by this change than before.

Wh. We hope that our God will give us a settlement; and we have found much of His favour therein already, and doubt not of the continuance thereof to us.

Qu. Is your new Government by a Protector different from what it was before as to monarchy, or is the alteration in all points?

Wh. The Government is to be the same as formerly, by successive representatives of the people in Parliament, only the Protector is the head, or chief magistrate, of the Commonwealth.

Qu. He is a gallant man; and I pray let him know that no person hath a greater esteem and respect for him than I have.

Wh. I presume then that his letters to your Majesty will not be unwelcome.

Qu. They shall be most welcome to me.

Wh. I then present these new credentials to your Majesty from his Highness my Lord Protector.

Qu. What is the reason that the Protector's name is put first in the letters?

Wh. The Protector's name, signed by himself, is at the bottom of the letter; and the naming of him first is because he writes to your Majesty, and is the constant form in England used to all other princes and states.

Qu. If it be used to other princes, I am satisfied, and expect no other. What is the substance of your new Government?

Wh. I shall show your Majesty the instrument of

our new Government, whereof a copy is sent me ; and I shall read such parts of it to your Majesty in French as may satisfy you.

Then Whitelocke read unto the Queen some parts of the instrument of Government ; and when he came to the title she said—

Qu. Why is the title Protector, when the power is kingly ?

Wh. I cannot satisfy your Majesty of the reasons of this title, being at so great a distance from the inventors of it.

Qu. New titles with sovereign power proved prejudicial to the state of Rome.

Wh. One of your Majesty's ancestors was not permitted to keep the title of Marshal of Sweden.

Qu. He was afterwards King ; and that will be next for your Protector.

Wh. That will not be so consonant to our Commonwealth as it was to your Crown.

Qu. It is an honour to our nation that you have looked into the story of it.

Wh. It is the duty of an ambassador to study the history of that Crown to which he is employed.

Qu. It becomes you well ; but why is your new Government so severe against the Roman Catholics ?

Wh. It is not more severe against them than it was formerly, and in some things less.

Qu. Methinks that you, who stand so much for liberty, should allow it to them, as well as to others, in a toleration of them.

Wh. Their principles are held contrary to the peace of the nation, and therefore they are not tolerated the public exercise of those principles. They hold your

Majesty's profession and ours to be heretical, and a foreign power to be above you and above our Commonwealth.

Qu. Those among them who understand themselves are of another opinion; and it is a pity they should be persecuted for their conscience' sake.

Wh. We are not for persecution in any point of conscience; but we expect a submission to the civil magistrate, and nothing to be done to the disturbance of our peace.

Qu. That is fit to be preserved with all care. Is your Protector sacred, as other kings are?

Wh. He is not anointed and crowned; those ceremonies were not used to him.

Qu. His power is the same with that of king, and why should not his title have been the same?

Wh. It is the power which makes the title, and not the title the power; our Protector thinks he hath enough of both.

Qu. He is hardly a mortal man then; but he hath brought his business notably to pass, and hath done great things; I give you my hand for it, that I have a great value of him.

Wh. Madam, I kiss your hand with all gratitude for your favours, and do assure your Majesty that the Protector hath a high honour for your Majesty, and shall not want information of your very great respects to him.

January 14, 1653.

Whiteloeke
presents his
credentials
from the
Lord Pro-
tector.

Upon the receipt of his new credentials Whiteloeke held it requisite to give in a paper to the Queen, to acquaint her of his being empowered to proceed in

the treaty with her Majesty. The English paper he signed, but not the Latin copy ; both here follow :—

“ Madam,

“ I have received commands from his Highness my honoured Lord, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and dominions thereto belonging, to let your Majesty know, and I do accordingly hereby acquaint your Majesty, that the late alteration of the Government in England hath made no change in the good intentions on that side towards your Majesty and your dominions, but that your Majesty shall find the same readiness in his Highness the Lord Protector to maintain and increase all good intelligence and correspondence with your Majesty and your Crown as in any the former governors of those nations ; and to that end his Highness hath authorized me to proceed in my present negotiation.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.

“ *Upsal, Jan. 14, 1653.*”

The Latin copy of the paper was thus :—

“ Serenissima ac potentissima Regina,

“ In mandatis habeo à Celsitudine sua Domino meo colendissimo, Domino Protectore reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, et dominorum illis appertinentium, ut certiorum facerem Majestatem vestram, quod et juxta mandata jam facio, commutatam politiam Angliæ nullam fecisse mutationem benevolorum animorum, ex ea parte, erga Majestatem vestram experturam eandem promptitudinem in Celsitudine sua Domino Protectore, ad conservandam et augendam bonam omnem intelligentiam ac correspondentiam cum Majestate vestra ac regno vestro, quæ in quovis antecedentium gubernatorum prædictarum nationum unquam fuisset ; et propterea Celsitudo sua mihi potestatem dedit, ut procederem in hac præsentis mea negotiatione.”

This was according to Whitelocke’s new instruc-

tions ;* and her Majesty desiring from Whitelocke a French copy for herself of the articles of treaty which he had delivered into her formerly, both of English and Latin (the Latin copy whereof she had given to the Chancellor), Whitelocke now sent her the French translation of the articles, with this letter :—

“ *A sa très-excellente Majesté Madame la Reine de Suède.*

“ Madame,

“ J’ai diligemment revu tous mes papiers pour pouvoir trouver la traduction française des articles que je présentai à votre Majesté, et n’ai pu trouver que la première copie, qui n’est pas propre à être présenté à votre Majesté ; mais plutôt que de me rendre désobéissant à vos commandements, j’ai même envoyé cette incluse, ensemble ma très-humble requête, qu’il plaise à votre Majesté me pardonner celle-ci et toutes les autres fautes du

“ Très-humble serviteur

“ De votre Majesté,

“ BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.

“ *Le 14 de Janvier, 1653.*”

This letter and the papers he sent to the Queen, that she might have them before she went her journey.

January 15, 1653.

This Lord’s Day, early in the morning, the Queen took her journey to see her mother ; and it is the usual time of travelling in this country. Her conveyance was by sledges, the easiest and most speedy way for a journey in the winter-time. They wrap themselves warm with furs, and the snow is so hard

* [Whitelocke’s former instructions (*supra*, p. 85) were in the name of the Parliament, and signed by the Speaker of the House.]

frozen over as ice, that it bears the horse and sledge, and they pass over rivers, lakes, and arms of the sea the nearest way to their journey's end.

Some of Whitelocke's family, and others that came to him, hinted divers objections as to Whitelocke's proceeding in this treaty upon the change of government; which objections, and their answers, are here collected and summed up together.

White-
locke's
opinion of
the late
changes.

1. *Objection.* That Cromwell, who had his commission from the Parliament, who were his masters, had by force turned them out of their authority, and now by this change had invested himself in the supreme administration of affairs; and by acting under his authority, thus unduly and unworthily gained, were to countenance such actions, and thereby to partake of the crimes themselves.

Answer. If Whitelocke had been party to Cromwell's violent and unjust actions, the crimes had been his likewise; but Whitelocke being a stranger to them, and patient under them, and at a great distance from Cromwell when he thus invested himself with regal authority; and being at that time in the midst of a negotiation, the effecting whereof was of great concernment to the honour and safety of his native country and of the good people there, which might be in much hazard in case Whitelocke did not proceed in his business, that it would be excusable with all good men if he continued to act therein, though not for the authorities' sake, yet for the business and for his country's sake.

2. *Objection.* That there was no lawful power from whence Cromwell's power was derived, and therefore to act under him was unlawful.

Ans. The former answer serves in part to this objection ; and because Cromwell did unlawfully assume a power to himself, it follows not that therefore a just and lawful business ought to be neglected and lost, rather than for a messenger or public minister to proceed to act under a usurped authority, but not by the means of that minister. To act unlawful things under a lawful power is less to be justified, than to continue to act honest and lawful things tending to public good, though under an unlawful power, when they cannot be done otherwise ; and if they be neglected, danger will ensue to his country.

3. *Obj.* That since the accession of power to Cromwell, he had neglected Whitelocke, having omitted him out of his Council, though in this present employment ; and what encouragement or gratitude could be expected from him who, in the beginning of the change, had put such a discountenance upon an ambassador then in actual service ?

Ans. It seemed some answer that Cromwell had not filled up the number of his Council, and possibly he might reserve a place for Whitelocke ; if not, his neglect to Whitelocke ought not to cause Whitelocke to neglect his country's good ; and for reward or gratitude he was to expect little from Cromwell's hand, who used to forget the instruments as soon as the work was done ; but his reward was to be expected from a higher Protector, and his inward satisfaction that herein he should serve God and good men would be a recompense of all his pains and hazards.

4. *Obj.* That there was an Act of Parliament in force, that to promote any single person to be chief magistrate in England was high treason ; and to act

under Cromwell's authority, who had made himself chief magistrate, might upon another change be interpreted high treason within that Act.

Ans. Whitelocke being no party to the setting up of this single person, nor that could possibly hinder or oppose it, his acting under this authority as a public minister, engaged before in the same business, might be interpreted the promoting of the treaty and of his country's good, but not of a single person to be chief magistrate, and so consequently not to be within that act of high treason.

5. *Obj.* That Whitelocke having taken the engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without a King or House of Lords, if he should now act under this single person invested with regal authority, to the dissolving of that Commonwealth, this would be taken as a breach of that engagement, and of being unfaithful to that Commonwealth.

Ans. The engagement was a solemn thing; and how is it to be faithful to that Commonwealth when one acts under a single person that destroys it? If the Commonwealth be destroyed, and there be no such thing in being, how can one be faithful to that which is not? All casuists agree that, if a government be altered and another power in possession of it, all private men are bound to submit to the present powers, because they are ordained of God; and a former Government, the object of obedience, ceasing, the obligation to that obedience also ceaseth where the protection ceaseth: the obedience is not required but where the protection is given. That if Whitelocke had been party to or acting in the destroying

of the Commonwealth, the sin had lain at his door, and he had been untrue and unfaithful; but he being a mere stranger to that act, and to the usurpation by the single person, and at this great distance, finding that single person by others' acts invested with his great power, it is no unfaithfulness in him, under this new authority, to proceed to do service for the same nation from whom and for whose good he was employed hither; especially when, if he should desist from his negotiation, that nation and commonwealth would receive great prejudice thereby, particularly in the continuance of a war upon them; and he might be accounted neither true nor faithful to the interest of his country whom he now serves by bringing mischief on them through his neglect.*

Most of the sober people with him were of this judgement for his proceeding; and they urged to him his own and all their condition who were with him in a strange country, so far from home, where none of them could have any credit to take up money or supply their necessities but as they were enabled by the present power in England, nor means for their transportation home; but should be left here in a condition so void of help and necessary subsistence as would bring them all to a very sad and miserable posture, which they hoped that he who was their ruler would not bring himself or them unto.

* [It must be clearly inferred from these objections that Whitelocke was ignorant of the measures contemplated by Cromwell when the Embassy left England, although this has been doubted by some of Whitelocke's biographers.]

January 16, 1653.

A visit was given by Whitelocke to the French Resident, with whom he had much discourse concerning the King his master, and of the late hostile passages between some of his subjects and the English, which the Resident applied only to particular persons, and affirmed that his master had thoughts of friendship towards this Commonwealth, and that the kindness which he showed to the King of Scots was occasioned by the relation of blood between them. Whitelocke was willing to improve this friendliness between them, and all good understanding between the two nations. They had further discourse about the country of Sweden, which the Resident much discommended, and the want of accommodations in their common inns; but much extolling the convenience of them in his country roads, wherein Whitelocke could join with him by experience, and did not forget the convenience for travellers in England. Other of their discourses are not necessary for a repetition.

Relations
between
the French
Govern-
ment and
the English
Common-
wealth.

Whitelocke received a visit from the Spanish Resident, who discoursed much of the Queen and of her power and interest in the kingdom, and the great officers thereof, and particularly of the Chancellor and other ministers. Pimentelle affirmed that the Queen had as great a power over all her ministers, and as great an interest in the affections of the people, and as full an obedience from them, and from all sorts of officers, both civil and military, great and inferior ones, as any prince in Europe had; and that he found it so by his long observation of passages in this country; and though Whitelocke was not clear in that point all

this time, yet afterwards he was fully convinced by experience of the truth of this observation.

January 17, 1653.

Conversa-
tion with
the
Chancellor
Oxenstiern
on the late
changes in
England.

The Chancellor having sent before, according to custom, he came to Whitelocke's house, and between them was this discourse.

Whitelocke. I had thoughts to have waited on your Excellence this day, to have put you in mind of my business, and to desire that a progress might be made therein, my occasions in England, in respect of my charge there and of my private family, requiring my return with all convenient speed.

Chancellor. I doubt not but that your employments in England are very considerable, and that you may justly desire a speedy return to them and to your family; and to further that I have desired this conference with you.

Wh. You will pardon my earnest desire of returning home, especially upon the great alteration which hath happened since my being abroad.

Chan. Indeed there hath been a great alteration among you, pulling down one and setting up another; abolishing kingship, as you term it, and resolving yourselves into a republic, and now again setting up another monarchy; which uncertainty in your Government may occasion some doubt how the treaties made with you may be observed.

Wh. Government is not changed, though a new head be made. The body of the laws and magistracy remain the same they were before; and certainly the nation and people of England, on whose behalf treaties

are made, do remain the same still, and will give due observance to foreign treaties, whosoever is the chief governor, or in whose name soever they are made ; and the same objection lies upon the death of every prince as upon the late alteration in England.

Chan. How could your Parliament justify the deposing of your King, nay, the putting of him to death, and that by a public trial, he being a king, what faults soever you could charge him with ? Other nations have sometimes caused their kings to be made away secretly, or have expelled them ; but you, in the face of all princes and of the whole world, proceeded against him as a common criminory person, as a subject rather than as a king, and took away his life in this manner, unwarrantable by any law, divine or human.

Wh. I suppose you do not expect from me here, where I am under the protection of a sovereign Queen, or elsewhere, a justification of that proceeding. I had no hand in it, and those who had, by authority of the Parliament, I believe held it more justifiable to proceed in an open trial than by secret means to take his life away. Their reasons and grounds for the action concerneth themselves, and is not my present business ; nor is the law the same in all countries in cases of the like nature and example.

Chan. It was exemplary with a witness, or rather minatory to all princes of the world ; yet I must confess it was more honourable to proceed in an open avowed way than by underhand dealing to have cut him off ; and for the laws of every country we must leave them to what is theirs, and their actions are to answer to their own laws.

Wh. If you are not so satisfied with our Govern-

ment that it is such as you may safely proceed in the treaty with me, my stay here is to small purpose.

Chan. Truly I am satisfied that we may safely proceed in the treaty with you, it being a national business, and not personal; and therefore shall not doubt of the due observance of what shall be agreed between the two nations.

Wh. I am glad you are so clearly satisfied, and could not but assure myself that a person of your wisdom and judgement could not be otherwise, upon your due consideration of our affairs.

Chan. It is your reason and full information of me whereby I have this satisfaction more than my own judgement; and I do like your settlement the better because the power of the Protector is limited by your law. There remains nothing for him now to do but to get him a back and breast of steel.

Wh. Without limitation in the power of a chief magistrate, it will be hard to distinguish him from a tyrant; but what meaneth my father by a back and breast of steel?

Chan. I mean the confirmation of his being Protector to be made by your Parliament, which will be his best and greatest strength.

Wh. For your further satisfaction of the settledness of Government, I have caused the writing or instrument agreed upon in our last change to be translated into Latin, that you may peruse it.

Chan. Is the Protector and the people bound to an observation of this instrument?

Wh. This is agreed upon, as to the rule of Government, to oblige both the people to obey it, and the Protector to govern according to it.

Chan. From whom is this power derived, and given to the Protector? and who had power to ordain it to be binding to the people?

Wh. The Parliament then sitting found the peace of the Commonwealth in danger to be again disturbed, and the many divisions in the nation hardly to be cured; they thereupon judged it the best and most expedient way, to prevent the mischiefs threatened, to make choice of a head of the Commonwealth, and the General to be the fittest and worthiest person for that office and trust; and therefore they by a solemn writing did resign their power and authority into the hands of the General, and desired him to accept of the Government as chief magistrate, under the title of Protector. And to this the officers and soldiers of the armies and navies, the magistrates of London, the principal judges of England, and divers noblemen, gentlemen, and persons of quality and faithfulness to the common interest and peace of the nation, did assent, and were present in a solemn meeting, where he was sworn to observe this instrument; and the people generally, by their acclamations, testified their agreement thereunto.

Chan. This seems to be an election by the sword, and prevailing party of the nation; and such precedents in other countries have proved dangerous, and not durable.

Wh. God hath thus ordered it; and I hear there is a general acquiescence and submission to it, and the supreme law of *salus populi* seemed to require this change; and though he were the General that is chosen to be the head, yet the soldiers were not sole but joint actors in this designation.

Chan. Such military elections of the Roman emperors and in other nations proved fatal to the public peace and liberty.

Wh. I hope this may prove a means for the conservation of our peace and freedom.

Chan. Do you hold this to be an election, or rather a military imposition of your chief governor?

Wh. It is certainly a very general agreement of persons in power and authority, and of principal interest in the nation, to set up this Government; and therefore may be hoped to continue as firm as those elections of kings by a few great men only, and was used in yours and the neighbour countries by the senators.

Chan. The elections by the senators, formerly made, raised great factions, and occasioned much civil war and misery; therefore our Rieksdag judged it necessary to alter that course of elections of our kings, and to settle the crown in an hereditary succession, which proves more peaceful and prosperous than those elections.

Wh. This was a great change, yet foreign treaties were still kept with you. I was born under hereditary kings, and do not disapprove of that government; yet I hope our Commonwealth, as now constituted, will also flourish and afford liberty and advantage to the people under it, and be as fixed as any other; and if you, my noble father, have as good an opinion thereof as I have, our treaty will have the better issue.

Chan. The great doubt will be of the permanency thereof, you being so much subject to changes; and then how will our treaties be observed?

Wh. I suppose that the treaties which you made

with other States in the names of your elective Kings do yet remain good, and are observed in the time of your hereditary Queen. I come not to treat with you concerning the interest of my General, now Protector, but concerning the interest of England, and on the behalf of the Commonwealth and people of England to treat with the Crown of Sweden and on the behalf of the people of Sweden; and whether the head of either people be called King or Queen or Protector, and the nation be called a commonwealth or a kingdom, yet the people's interest is the same, and of equal force at one time or another.

Chan. Son, I am satisfied with your reasons, and convinced we may safely proceed in a treaty with you.

Wh. I durst not offer anything to your great judgment but what I apprehended to carry reason with it, and know to be truth.

Chan. I have had the honour to treat with very many public ministers, but never received more reason, satisfaction, and contentment from any than from yourself; and that you may perceive me to have the affection of a father towards you, I shall not only by my words but by my actions endeavour to testify the same. I have heard of your honourable charge at home, and of your numerous family, and know what it is to be at such distance as you are from them; and therefore hold it the more generous and just to endeavour your speedy despatch to them, and that with satisfaction to you.

Wh. You will herein do an act of much respect to my superiors, and favour to your son, whom you cannot more oblige than by such a satisfactory conclusion of the business which I here attend.

Chan. There is yet another objection upon your new credentials, wherein is omitted the usual clause to assure a confirmation by your superiors of what you shall agree.

Wh. This clause of confirmation is in my commission under the Great Seal of England, by which authority I am enabled to act still in this treaty, and to which my new instructions do refer ; and therefore was not thought necessary to be repeated in my new credentials.

Chan. That answers my objection. I shall send to you for another meeting, when we will proceed upon your articles.

Wh. I shall willingly attend you.

January 18, 1653.

Conference
on the arti-
cles of the
Treaty.

By agreement, Whitelocke went to the Chancellor's house, and brought with him his articles, which the Chancellor and he read all over together, and afterwards read them again by parts.* To the first article the Chancellor made no objection, but seemed to agree to it ; to the second article the Chancellor, with a long harangue, spake to this effect :—

Chancellor. In these proposals, as it seems to me, two things are contained : first, that which belongs to mutual friendship, correspondence, and commerce between the two nations, and is of the less difficulty ; the second relates to the league offensive and defensive, and of the conserving of the interest of both nations,

* [The Treaty, as finally concluded, will be found in Vol. II., under the date of April 28, 1654. It does not clearly appear whether the draft was framed by Whitelocke or by the Council of State in London.]

wherein is more difficulty, and the state of either nation is to be considered.

As to what concerns the Commonwealth of England, it is not to be doubted but that at present it is involved in wars, wherein the Swedes must necessarily involve themselves also if they agree unto your second article.

As to what concerns the kingdom of Sweden, they enjoy peace with all, and are not troubled with any war; and although in former times they have waged war with their neighbours, to wit, the Danes, Poles, and Muscovites, and in Germany, yet now all matters are transacted by them in peace and friendliness.

In Germany, General Leven and General Ruthven, two of your countrymen, did gallant service to the Crown of Sweden, and received rewards answerable to their merit when they departed for Scotland, about the beginning of your British tumults. I foretold to them what they afterwards found came to pass. The ground of the war between my King and Poland was most just, and provoked by them, wherein he had success; and likewise against the Muscovite, who dealt unjustly with us; and both came to a happy issue and good peace on the part of Sweden. The Dane committed so many injurious acts against Sweden contrary to their former leagues with us, that Sweden was necessitated, for the conservation of their state and interest, to try it out by force and war with Denmark. In the prosecution of which affairs no prince or commonwealth gave any assistance, either in action or in council, unto Sweden. And although it was propounded to the Ambassador of France, then negotiating in Sweden, that he would appear either in

assistance or council, he gave this answer, that he had nothing in command from his King about this matter. And when likewise it was represented to the Dutch Ambassador, then also residing in this Court, and their interest as to trade and traffic by the Sound, they gave the same answer as the French Ambassador had done before. At the same time the Queen of Sweden sent letters to the Parliament of England, whereby she desired the advice of the Parliament, and offered that they should be included in the treaty of peace with the Dane, as to what concerned the trade of England at the Sound; but it pleased not the Parliament of England to give any answer upon that affair before the peace was concluded between the Swedes and Danes.

During all the time that I had the care and management of the Swedish affairs, and after the Queen took upon her the government, nothing was done to the prejudice of the Parliament of England, but their party ever was and still is favoured by us; and since the late Government and your Protector constituted, I have better hopes of the establishment and prosperity of your Commonwealth than I had before. Yet as a Councillor of the kingdom of Sweden, and as a Delegate appointed by the Queen in this matter, it becomes me to foresee that the kingdom of Sweden, now in quiet, be not engaged in foreign wars, the which will necessarily come to pass if your second article be agreed unto; and therefore it deserves the greater consideration.

I desire you to excuse my length of speaking: my King would always afford me the liberty of speaking at large to him; and if any fault might be imputed

to that King, it was this, that sometimes he would be very choleric ; it was his temper, and he was wont to say to me, Thou art too phlegmatic, and if somewhat of my heat were not mingled with thy phlegm, my affairs would not come to so good effect as they do. To whom, with his leave, I would answer and say to him :—" Sir, if my phlegmatic temper did not mingle some coolness with your heat, your affairs would not be so prosperous as they are." At which answer the King would laugh heartily, and give me my freedom of speaking fully to him. And I ask your leave, in the transacting of our affairs, that I may speak freely and fully to you upon all occasions.

W. Father, you have it in your own power to afford yourself as much of your time as you think fit for the consideration of these proposals ; and the more of your time you allow for your discourse with me, the more is my happiness and great contentment. As to this negotiation, my earnest desire is that it may be brought to a conclusion as soon as may be, it being uncertain how soon I may be recalled by my Lord Protector.

That which you have materially urged relates to other countries, and not to England.

Touching your interest with other countries, you will expect little to be answered by me, a stranger to it ; only I may observe that neither the Muscovites, Poles, Germans, or your nearest neighbours the Danes, are apprehended to be so firm friends unto you, that they will neglect any opportunity or advantage to break with you, and to do you prejudice and themselves a benefit ; and although, blessed be God, you have peace with all at present, yet how soon you may

have wars you know not, against which it is good to provide beforehand; and my second article will be a good preventive thereof, and support if such a war shall break out against you, which you may foresee not to be unlikely in a short time.

As to that which you last mentioned, touching the letters sent to our Parliament, and no timely answer of them, I remember those letters came *anno* 1643, when our affairs were in the greatest distraction; yet, upon the first opportunity, answer was returned by Colonel Potley from the Parliament to her Majesty, and to my knowledge our Parliament have ever expressed to the Queen and to her Chancellor all friendship and affection.

Concerning the war between us and Holland, it was injuriously brought upon us, without any wrong or provocation on our part, and so it hath been approved in the defence and conquests which God pleased to bestow on us; therefore my coming hither is not to implore a charitable assistance to a commonwealth reduced unto straits, as our Queen Elizabeth afforded to these Hollanders, but I come to offer to the Queen and kingdom of Sweden the alliance of a commonwealth, by the blessing of God filled with victorious successes against all her enemies, and her affairs in a settled and good condition; and do propound, by my second article, equal if not more advantage and honour to the Swedish nation, than what England may expect to herself thereby.

By what is proposed in that article against all those who shall endeavour to hinder the free commerce of either nation in the Sound, if, by a conjunction with England, the navigation and commerce in the Sound

and Baltic Sea be preserved free, it will be much more benefit to the Crown of Sweden than to the Commonwealth of England; and the same is not yet free for us or you, therefore my second article seems not unequal. And for that which concerns mutual assistance, it is left to subsequent consideration, and to such agreements as hereafter shall be particularly made thereupon. It is also observable that it is not so much advantage to England as it may be to other countries to have a war; and Sweden is not without ill-willers, and by this second article is to have mutual assistance from us.

Chan. It is well known to me that Sweden hath many enemies and ill-willers; yet at present we enjoy peace, and England is engaged in a naval war.

Wh. That is true, and by the blessing of God very prosperous, and whereby the power and force of the English navy is made appear to all; and that seems to me no reason why her friendship should be the less valued.

Chan. I shall desire your exposition of the third article. What do you mean by the words, “laws and ordinances there”?

Wh. I mean the laws of the Commonwealth of England in England, and the laws of the kingdom of Sweden in Sweden,—equally necessary to either nation as to the peace, trade, and tolls which are directed by certain respective laws of both nations.

Chan. I am satisfied herein, and shall come to the fourth article, to which I must say that there are divers now living in Sweden who were formerly of the King of England’s party, and are now inhabitants and possessors of estates in Sweden, and it would

not be just to expel and cast them out of this country.

Wh. The fourth article mentions those who shall design or attempt anything against our Commonwealth; and those English who are become dwellers here are not excluded from the grace and favour of the Parliament, neither as rebels against them to be harboured here, more than rebels against the Crown of Sweden are to be harboured in England; but I shall assent to any reasonable or equal alteration to be made in the matter of that article.

It being now past eleven o'clock, the hour of the Swedes' dinner-time, Whitelocke would not longer detain the Chancellor; but, appointing another time of meeting, they ended this day's conference.

January 19, 1653.

Further negotiation with the Chancellor's Secretary.

Lagerfeldt, the great creature of the Chancellor, came to Whitelocke, possibly to find how the Chancellor's objections to Whitelocke yesterday did relish with him, who, apprehending the design, made some use of this visit to the advantage of the treaty.

Lagerfeldt argued the points over again. Whitelocke was not warm in his answers, but seemed, in a careless way, not so much to mind the business as he had done before. This caused Lagerfeldt to urge the more to know Whitelocke's intentions, who then told him he had come a long and dangerous journey from England to this place, that now he hoped his longed-for time of returning home was near, and whether with an agreement or disagreement to what he had proposed would not disquiet or hinder him, who per-

ceived by the Chancellor's objections and insisting on them, that an agreement was not much to be expected; yet he should have contentment in that he had discharged his duty.

Lagerfeldt seemed troubled at these expressions, and asked Whitelocke why he doubted a speedy and good agreement in his business? Whitelocke answered, because he had already endured many delays, and saw little inclination to receive satisfaction to objections. Lagerfeldt replied, that extraordinary occasions had caused the delays; that the Chancellor was an old man, and not so nimble in business as he had been; but he knew that his Excellence had a very great affection both for Whitelocke's business and person. Whitelocke said that he propounded nothing but what was for the safety and honour of the Crown of Sweden, and might as readily be accepted by them as it was respectfully offered by him.

Lagerfeldt often expressed his confidence of a good issue of the business; and Whitelocke spake purposely what he believed would be again related to the Chancellor, and to the end it might be so.

Whitelocke was informed that Piementelle was a little sensible of some omission on Whitelocke's part in point of visits to him, who was as worthy, for his civilities to Whitelocke, for his favour with the Queen and freeness toward Whitelocke, as any person in that Court to be respected by him; and therefore Whitelocke went often to visit him, and at this time had much discourse with him touching the Chancellor, and of his great experience in state matters, also of his slow proceedings. But Piementelle said that all must pass through the hands of the Queen, and that

after the consultations and debates of her Ministers of State she did what she pleased; as in like manner, he said, she governed wholly in all her councils, and in the Diet or Ricksdag itself. Among other discourses he fell upon that of Grave Magnus de la Gardie's retirement from Court, which was now the common discourse, whereof he promised a more particular relation at another meeting.

January 20, 1653.

Interview
with the
Spanish
Minister.

The Queen being returned from her journey, Whitelocke sent one of his servants to Grave Tott, to desire a private audience to wait upon the Queen and congratulate her safe return; and this he did to give the Queen opportunity of inquiring what had been done in the treaty between him and her Chancellor. The Queen returned answer, that she was sorry she could not entertain Whitelocke at present, she being ill and very weary after her journey, so that she was going to bed. Whitelocke thereupon went to Pimentelle's lodgings, and the Queen, understanding that he was there, sent one of her secretaries thither to him to excuse her not giving him audience then, and to tell him that if he would come tomorrow to her he should be welcome.

Whitelocke desired the relation from Pimentelle of the passages formerly discoursed on in general touching Grave Magnus, which, being a piece of romance, may, for diversion's sake, be here inserted.

The history
of Grave
Magnus de
la Gardie.

“Grave Magnus was son to Grave Pontus de la Gardie, whose father, coming out of France to serve the Crown of Sweden, was so successful, that, for a reward of his merit, he had good revenues and the title of a Grave or Earl bestowed upon him, and married there, and became a subject

and inhabitant of Sweden. His son Grave Pontus was made Feldherr, or General of the army, and was in great favour with the King Gustavus, and a senator. His son Grave Magnus, the gentleman of whom is the present discourse, was a proper, handsome, courtly gentleman; and besides the honour of being a senator, he grew into such favour with the Queen that her servants feared lest she should settle her affection so far upon him as to make him her husband; to prevent which, it was so contrived that Grave Magnus was married to the sister of Princee Palatine, cousin-german to the Queen, a match of great honour and advantage to the gentleman, whose thoughts, it seems, did not aspire so high as was suspected.

“This favourite of the Queen having a faction in Court and free access to her Majesty, with much respect, particularly because of his alliance, the Queen made him Grand Master, or High Treasurer. Having this honour and credit, he would permit none to be received into her Majesty’s service but his own creatures, and others he would represent to the Queen as unfit for her service or unfaithful.

“One day Grave Magnus informed the Queen that he was extremely grieved at some reports which he was told had been made to her Majesty touching him. The Queen asked him what reports. He said, of unfaithfulness and treason, which never were in his thoughts against her Majesty; and it grieved him that she should say any such thing of him. The Queen demanded who had reported this to him. He desired to be excused from naming the party, but said he had been told so. The Queen replied, I must know who hath thus informed you. He continued to excuse the naming of parties, but the Queen would know them; which he seeing, he named Grave Tott and the Baron of Steinberg.

“The Queen presently called in those in the antechamber, divers senators and others, and said to them, ‘Sirs, here is Grave Magnus, who hath made me this report,’ and told them what it was. The Grave desired her Ma-

jesty not to speak of these things publicly. The Queen said she must speak of them before those gentlemen, and recited all that Grave Magnus had said to her, and sent for Tott and Steinberg; and before they came, she said before the company that those were men of honour, and if they say that I have spoken these words, then I have spoken them.

“As soon as they were come, the Queen said to them, Sirs, have you said that I spake thus? and repeated Magnus’s words. They denied that ever they said so, and desired to know who had reported it of them. The Queen replied, Here is Grave Magnus, who informed me so. Tott and Steinberg replied, that they had each of them but one life, which, by her Majesty’s permission, they would employ to maintain that they never spake these words; and that if Grave Magnus would justify it, they would deny it to his face. Magnus answered, that he did not say that these gentlemen had spoken the words, but that he was told so. Tott and Steinberg desired to know who told him so. Grave Magnus desired to be excused, and so took his leave.

“After this the Queen sent Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern and Marshal Wrangel to Grave Magnus, to know who had told him that Tott and Steinberg spake the words; and after some excuses, finding the Queen’s resolution to know it, he named a Colonel that told him so, who, being sent for, denied it, and said that his life was in the Queen’s hands, which he would expose to maintain that he never spake the words. Magnus affirmed he did, and the Colonel denied; whereupon, in great choler, Magnus desired leave of her Majesty to retire himself into the country. The Queen wished him a good voyage, and so he went from Court.

“Afterwards some of his friends entreated her Majesty that he might return to Court, but she would not grant it; he also himself wrote to the Queen for that purpose, but she would not give leave for his return to Court, and wrote herself to him a letter in French, which was this:—

“Puisque vous désirez me voir encore, après la disgrâce qui vous est arrivée, je suis obligée de vous dire combien ce désir est contraire à votre satisfaction, et je vous écris cette lettre, pour vous faire souvenir des raisons qui m’empêchent d’y consentir, et qui vous doivent aussi persuader que cette entrevue est inutile à votre repos. Il n’est pas en moi d’apporter des remèdes à votre malheur. C’est de vous seul que vous devez attendre la réparation de votre honneur. Que pouvez-vous espérer de moi ? Ou que puis-je faire, sinon vous plaindre et vous blâmer ? L’amitié que je vous ai portée m’oblige à l’un et à l’autre. Et quelque indulgence que j’ai eu pour vous, je ne puis, sans me démentir, vous pardonner le crime que vous avez commis contre vous-même. Ne croyez pas que je suis offensée, je vous proteste que je ne le suis pas : je suis désormais incapable d’avoir d’autre sentiment pour vous que celui de la pitié ; lequel toutefois ne vous peut servir de rien, depuis que vous vous êtes rendu inutile les sentimens de bonté que j’avais pour vous. Vous en êtes indigne par votre propre confession ; et vous avez prononcé vous-même l’arrêt de votre bannissement, à vue de plusieurs personnes de condition qui s’y trouvèrent présentes. J’ai confirmée cet arrêt, pour ce que je le trouvais juste ; et je ne suis pas si prête à m’en dédire que l’on vous a fait accroire. Après ce que vous avez fait et souffert, osez-vous bien vous montrer à moi ? Vous me faites honte, quand je pense à combien de bassesse vous êtes descendu. Combien de soumissions vous avez fait à ceux-mêmes, à qui vous avez voulu du mal ! Dans cette malheureuse rencontre, on n’a vu rien de grand, de beau, ni de généreux dans votre conduite. Si j’étais capable de repentir, je regretterais d’avoir contracté amitié avec une âme si faible que la vôtre : mais cette faiblesse est indigne de moi ; et ayant toujours agi selon la raison, je ne dois pas blâmer les apparences que j’ai données aux occurrences du temps. Je les aurais gardées toute ma vie, si votre imprudence ne m’eût contrainte de me déclarer contre vous. L’honneur m’oblige de le faire hautement ; et la

justice m'ordonne. J'ai trop fait pour vous depuis neuf ans, ou j'ai toujours pris aveuglement votre parti contre tous. Mais à présent, que vous abandonnez vos plus chers intérêts, je suis dispensée d'en avoir soin. Vous avez publié vous-même un secret que j'étais résolue de taire toute ma vie, en faisant voir que vous êtes indigne de la fortune que vous tenez de moi. Si vous êtes résolu d'entendre ces reproches, vous pouvez venir ici; j'y consens à cette condition. Mais n'espérez pas que les larmes ni les soumissions puissent jamais m'obliger à la moindre complaisance. La seule dont je suis capable pour vous est celle de m'en souvenir peu, et d'en parler moins, étant résolue de n'en parler jamais que pour vous blâmer. C'est ce que je dois, pour faire voir que l'on est indigne de mon estime après une faute semblable à la vôtre. Voilà ce qui me reste à faire pour vous. Souvenez-vous pourtant que c'est à vous seul que vous devez la disgrâce qui vous arrive; et que je suis équitable pour vous, comme je serai toujours pour tout le monde.'

"The English of the letter is thus:—

"'Since you desire to see me again, after the disgrace which is happened to you, I am obliged to tell you how contrary to your satisfaction this desire is; and I write to you this letter to cause you to remember the reasons which hinder my consent, and which ought also to persuade you that this interview is unprofitable to your repose. It is not in me to bring remedies to your misfortune; it is in yourself only to gain reparation of your honour. What can you hope for from me, or what can I do, except to moan and blame you? The friendship which I did bear you obligeth me both to the one and the other, and a certain indulgence which I have had for you. I cannot, without belying myself, pardon you the crime which you have committed against yourself. Do not believe that I am offended; I protest I am not. I am from henceforth incapable to have any other apprehension for you than that of pity, which

nevertheless can nothing avail you, since yourself hath made useless the thoughts of bounty which I had for you : you are unworthy of them by your own confession, and yourself hath pronounced the decree of your banishment in the presence of divers persons of quality. I have confirmed this decree, because I found it just ; and I am not so forward to contradict myself as some have made you to believe. After what you have done and suffered, dare you show yourself to me ? You make me ashamed when I consider to what lowness you are fallen. How many submissions have you made, even to those to whom you would have done ill ! In this unfortunate rencounter, one can see nothing of greatness, of handsomeness, or of generosity in your conduct. If I were capable to repent, I should regret to have contracted friendship with a soul so feeble as yours ; but this weakness is unworthy of me, and having always acted according to reason, I cannot blame the appearances which I have given to the occurrences of time. I should have kept them all my life, if your imprudence had not constrained me to declare myself against you ; honour obligeth me, and justice ordains me, to do it highly. I have done too much for you these nine years, when I have always blindly taken your part against all ; but at present, since you abandon your most dear interests, I am dispensed with from having care of them. You yourself have published a secret (which I was resolved to have concealed all my lifetime) in making known that you are unworthy the fortune which you had with me. If you are resolved to bear these reproaches, you may come hither : I consent to it upon that condition ; but do not hope that either tears or submissions can ever oblige me to the least compliance. All that I am capable to do for you is, to remember little, and to speak less hereof, except to blame you. This I ought to do, to make it appear that one is unworthy of my esteem after such a fault as yours ; this only remains, that I can do for you ; and you are also to remember that it is to yourself only that you owe this disgrace which is befallen

you, and that I have the same equity for you as I shall ever have for all others.'

"Field-Marshal Wrangel had performed several great exploits and gallant services for the Queen, both by land and sea, and was highly in her favour and her people's esteem; yet such command had the Queen over the greatest of her officers and servants, that she checked this senator publicly, only because he had made a visit to Grave Magnus in the country, being under her displeasure. At his return from thence, coming into the presence of the Queen, she would not do him the favour to give him her hand to kiss, as she used to do; but in the presence of many she thus spake to him:—

"*Queen.* I wonder that you should disapprove my proceedings concerning Grave Magnus; this is the reason why I gave you not my hand.

"*Marshal.* I never disapproved the proceedings of your Majesty, but shall be always ready to justify them with the peril of my life.

"*Qu.* Wherefore then did you go into the country to rejoice with him, being in disgrace?

"*Marsh.* It is true that I have been at the house of Grave Magnus in the country, about some particular business; but if I had known that it would have displeased your Majesty, I should not have done it. I am extremely sorry to have given offence to your Majesty, and most humbly ask your pardon. Your Majesty knows that I have been, and always shall be, ready to serve your Majesty with my life. There be others of your Court who have been to see him as well as I.

"*Qu.* I know that my cousin Prince Adolphus hath been there also, but he is his brother-in-law, and it is more suitable for him to go and eat of his comfitures; but for you, who have testified so much affection for my service, and done so many honourable actions, to go thither is a reproach to me: but since you have acknowledged your fault and asked my pardon, I shall give it you, and wish you not

to do so another time.—Upon this the Queen gave the Marshal her hand to kiss, and he made no reply.”

Whitelocke thanked Pimentelle for his relation, which so much discovered the humour and temper of the Court and courtiers; and so they parted.

January 21, 1653.

The Queen sent one of her secretaries to Whitelocke, to desire him to come to her at three o'clock in the afternoon, which he did, and was presently admitted into her bedchamber, where two stools were set. The Queen sat down, and caused Whitelocke to sit by her.

Interview with the Queen, who announces her intention to abdicate the Crown.

Many compliments passed touching her journey and speedy return, and the like; and she was pleased to give Whitelocke a description of the countries and places where she had been in her journey, with the occasion of it, and how well she endured it. To which Whitelocke said, that if she could so well endure such travel, and at such a season, she might well command an army; which she replied she could do upon a good occasion; and Whitelocke said, that was like the daughter of great Gustavus. Then the Queen asked Whitelocke if he had met with the Chancellor in her absence. He said, they had a meeting, and much discourse upon his articles; but he wished that he might have had the honour of treating with her Majesty, and doubted not but to have given her satisfaction, because he knew her honour and judgement would be satisfied with reason. But he made some question whether her Chancellor might not have some little prejudice in the business: he hoped not, only wished

that her Majesty's time, and other great occasions, would have afforded her the liberty and him the honour of her being the sole judge (as in truth she was, and at last must be) of all these matters.

The Queen asked what her Chancellor's objections were. Whitelocke said they were too long to trouble her Majesty with them at this time. She pressed the more to know them, the more backward Whitelocke was to relate them; who nevertheless willingly gave her a punctual account of all the objections, with his answers upon every article. The Queen seemed fully to approve what Whitelocke had said, and told him, that in case her Chancellor and he could not agree, that it must come to her at last, whom he should find to be guided by honour and reason.

After this discourse she drew her stool close to Whitelocke, and this discourse passed:—

Queen. I shall surprise you with something which I intend to communicate to you; but it must be under secrecy.

Whitelocke. Madam, we that have been versed in the affairs of England do not use to be surprised with the discourse of a young lady. Whatsoever your Majesty shall think fit to impart to me, and command to be under secrecy, shall be faithfully obeyed by me.

Qu. I have great confidence of your honour and judgement, and therefore, though you are a stranger, I shall acquaint you with a business of the greatest consequence to me in the world, and which I have not communicated to any creature; nor would I have you to tell any one of it—no, not your General, till you come to see him; and in this business I desire your counsel.

Wh. Your Majesty doth me in this the greatest honour imaginable, and your confidence in me I shall not, through the help of God, deceive in the least measure, nor relate to any person, except my General, what you shall impart to me; and wherein your Majesty shall judge my counsel worthy your receiving, I shall give it you with all sincerity, and according to the best of my poor capacity.

Qu. Sir, this it is. I have it in my thoughts and resolution to quit the Crown of Sweden, and to retire myself unto a private life, as much more suitable to my contentment than the great cares and troubles attending upon the government of my kingdom; and what think you of this resolution?

Wh. I am sorry to hear your Majesty call it a resolution; and if anything would surprise a man, to hear such a resolution, from a lady of your parts, power, and judgement, would do it. But I suppose your Majesty is pleased only to droll with your humble servant.

Qu. I speak to you the truth of my intentions; and had it not been for your coming hither, which caused me to defer that resolution, probably it might have been done before this time.

Wh. I beseech your Majesty defer that resolution still, or rather wholly exclude it from your thoughts, as unfit to receive any entertainment in your royal breast; and give me your pardon if I speak my poor opinion with all duty and plainness to you, since you are pleased to require it. Can any reason enter into a mind so full of reason as yours is, to cause such a resolution from your Majesty?

Qu. I take your plainness in very good part, and desire you to use freedom with me in this matter.

The reasons which conduct me to such a resolution are, because I am a woman, and therefore the more unfit to govern, and subject to the greater inconveniences; that the heavy cares of government do outweigh the glories and pleasures of it, and are not to be embraced in comparison of that contentment which a private retirement brings with it.

W^h. As I am a stranger, I have an advantage to speak the more freely to your Majesty, especially in this great business; and as I am one who have been acquainted with a retired life, I can judge of that; but as to the cares of a crown, none but those that wear it can judge of them: only this I can say, that the higher your station is, the more opportunity you have of doing service to God and good to the world.

Qu. I desire that more service to God and more good to the world may be done than I, being a woman, am capable to perform; and as soon as I can settle some affairs for the good and advantage of my people, I think I may, without scandal, quit myself of my continual cares, and enjoy the pleasure of a privacy and retirement.

W^h. But, Madam, you that enjoy the kingdom by right of descent, you that have the full affections and obedience of all sorts of your subjects, why should you be discouraged to continue the reins in your own hands? How can you forsake those who testify so much love to you and liking of your government?

Qu. It is my love to the people which causeth me to think of providing a better governor for them than a poor woman can be; and it is somewhat of love to myself, to please my own fancy by private retirement.

W^h. Madam, God hath called you to this eminent

place and power of Queen. Do not act contrary to this call, and disable yourself from doing Him service, for which end we are all here; and your Majesty, as Queen, hath far greater opportunities than you can have as a private person to bring honour to Him.

Qu. If another person, who may succeed me, have capacity and better opportunity, by reason of his sex and parts, to do God and his country service than I can have, then my quitting the Government and putting it into better hands doth fully answer this objection.

Wh. I confess my ignorance of better hands than your own in which the Government may be placed.

Qu. My cousin, the Prince Palatine, is a person of excellent parts and abilities for government, besides his valour and knowledge in military affairs: him I have caused to be declared my successor; it was I only that did it.* Perhaps you may have heard of the passages between him and me; but I am resolved never to marry. It will be much more for the advantage of the people that the crown be on his head than on mine; none fitter than he for it.

Wh. I do believe his Royal Highness to be a person

* [This Prince, who shortly afterwards ascended the throne under the name of Charles X., or Charles Gustavus of Sweden, was born in 1622, of a marriage between John Casimir, Prince Palatine of the House of Zweibrücken, and Catherine, a daughter of Charles IX. of Sweden, and granddaughter of Gustavus Vasa. He was consequently a nephew of Gustavus Adolphus, and the Queen's first cousin. Upon his return from Germany after the peace of Westphalia, he had aspired to the hand of his royal kinswoman, who persisted in her refusal to marry. She caused him however to be formally recognized as successor to the Crown in the following year; and from that moment she entertained the project of abdication, which she realized during Whitelocke's visit to Sweden.]

of exceeding great honour and abilities for government. You have caused him to be declared your successor, and it will be no injury to him to stay his time ; I am sure it may be to your Majesty to be persuaded, perhaps designedly, to give up your right to him whilst you live and ought to enjoy it.

Qu. It is no design, but my own voluntary act ; and he being more active and fit for the government than I am, the sooner he is put into it the better.

Wh. The better for him indeed. With your Majesty's leave, I shall tell you a story of an old English gentleman, who had an active young man to his son, that persuaded the father to give up the management of the estate to the son, who could make greater advantage by it than his father did. He consented ; writings were prepared, and friends met to see the agreement executed to quit all to the son, reserving only a pension to the father. Whilst this was doing, the father, as is much used, was taking tobacco in the better room, the parlour, where his rheum caused him to spit much, which offended the son ; and because there was much company, he desired his father to take the tobacco in the kitchen, and to spit there, which he obeyed. All things being ready, the son calls his father to come and seal the writings. The father said his mind was changed. The son wondered at it, and asking the reason, the wise old man said the reason was, because he was resolved to spit in the parlour as long as he lived ; and so I hope will a wise young lady.

Qu. Your story is very apt to our purpose, and the application proper, to keep the crown upon my head as long as I live ; but to be quit of it, rather than to keep it, I shall think to be to spit in the parlour.

Wh. What your Majesty likes best is best to you ; but do you not think that Charles V. had as great hopes of contentment by his abdication as your Majesty hath, and yet repented it the same day he did it ?

Qu. That was by reason of his son's unworthiness ; but many other princes have happily and with all contentment retired themselves to a private condition ; and I am confident that my cousin the Prince will see that I shall be duly paid what I reserve for my own maintenance.

Wh. Madam, let me humbly advise you, if any such thing should be, as I hope it will not, to reserve that country in your possession out of which your reserved revenue shall be issued ; for when money is to be paid out of a prince's treasury, it is not always ready and certain.

Qu. The Prince Palatine is full of justice and honour ; but I like your counsel well, and shall follow it, and advise further with you in it.

Wh. Madam, I shall be always ready to serve you in any of your commands, but more unwillingly in this than any other. Suppose, Madam, as the worst must be cast, that by some exigencies or troubles your lessened revenue should not be answered and paid to supply your own occasions. You that have been mistress of the whole revenue of this crown, and of so noble and bountiful a heart as you have, how can you bear the abridging of it, or, it may be, the necessary supplies for yourself and servants to be wanting to your quality ?

Qu. In case of such exigencies, notwithstanding my quality, I can content myself with very little ; and for servants, with a lacquey and a chambermaid.

Wh. This is good philosophy, but hard to practise. Give me leave, Madam, to make another objection. You now are Queen and sovereign lady of all the nations subject to your crown and person, whose word the stoutest and greatest among them do obey, and strive to cringe to you; but when you shall have divested yourself of all power, the same persons who now fawn upon you will be then apt to put affronts and scorns upon you; and how can your generous and royal spirit brook them, and to be despised by those whom you have raised and so much obliged?

Qu. I look upon such things as these as the course of this world, and shall expect such scorns, and be prepared to condemn them.

Wh. These answers are strong arguments of your excellent temper and fitness to continue in your power and government, and such resolutions will advance your Majesty above any earthly crown. Such a spirit as this shows how much you are above other women and most men in the world, and, as such a woman, you have the more advantage for government, and, without disparagement to the Prince, not inferior to him or any other man, to have the trust of it.

Qu. What opinion have they in England of the Prince Palatine?

Wh. They have a very honourable opinion of him, but have not heard so much of him as of your Majesty, of whom is great discourse, full of respect and honour to your person and to your government.

Qu. I hope I shall testify my respects to your Commonwealth in the business of the treaty between us, and that it shall be brought to a good issue, and give satisfaction to us both.

Wh. That doth wholly rest in your Majesty's power, to whom I hope to have the favour to offer my reasons in any points wherein there is a difference of opinion between your Chancellor and me ; and I shall much depend upon your Majesty's judgement and good inclinations to my superiors.

Qu. I shall not be wanting in my expressions thereof, and do hope that the Protector will afford me his assistance for the gaining of a good occasion and place for my intended retirement.

Wh. You will find his Highness full of civility and respects, and readiness to serve your Majesty.

Qu. I shall never desire anything but what may stand with the good of both nations ; and what do you judge the best means to procure free navigation through the Sound ?

Wh. I know no other means but force, the King of Denmark denying it.

Qu. That is the way indeed ; but what shall then be done with the castles upon the Sound, and the King of Denmark's land there ?

Wh. If it shall please God to give a blessing to the design, the castles must either be razed, or they and the island put into good hands, such as both may trust.

Qu. That is to the purpose ; but do you think that England will assist to that end ?

Wh. I think they will upon such reasonable conditions as shall be accorded ; but in such actions speedy and vigorous prosecution is necessary. The Spring should not be lost, against which time preparations are to be made, and your Majesty must be pleased to give me your proposals for that business ;

nor is the present treaty upon my articles to be delayed, they being the foundation of the whole design.

Qu. You may assure yourself that the alliance between the two nations is as good as concluded, and will be done ; and I will give you my proposals concerning the Sound ; and if Zealand could be taken from the Dane, and the Protector agree to my living there, it should be the place of my retirement ; I would quit the Crown of Sweden and reside there.

Wh. Your Majesty would have the worst part of the bargain. I hope you would then bestow upon your servant the command of one of the castles there.

Qu. With all my heart, but I believe you do but droll. I will promise you more, that if this business be brought to effect, I shall be willing, if England will consent to it, that you shall have the command of all the island, and of all such Swedish and English forces as shall be placed there ; and I should not be willing to put that trust into the hand of any other stranger whatsoever, so much confidence I have of your worth and honour.

Wh. Your Majesty is pleased to put an exceeding great obligation upon me, and I hope, by the assistance of God, I should approve my faithfulness in any trust reposed in me. I believe my Lord Protector would as soon put this great trust in me as in any other of his servants, and I shall acquaint his Highness with what your Majesty mentions.

Qu. I pray do so, and I shall give you my proposals.

Wh. This discourse puts me in mind of a passage of my General before I came out of England. He told me he had a mind to quit his charge, and presently

followed an addition of honour to him. The like may be to your Majesty, though not in title, yet in good successes.

Qu. All the addition I desire is to be less than I am by a private retirement.

After three hours' discourse Whitelocke took his leave.

January 22, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—After evening sermon, Mr. Stapleton, by Whitelocke's appointment, gave an admonition to his family with much soberness and authority of Scripture, exhorting them to contain themselves within the bounds of temperance. After he had done, the whole family being together, Whitelocke spake to them to this effect:—

White-
locke's ex-
hortation to
his house-
hold.

“The good exhortation which you have received was by my direction, and hath been given you with care and affection towards you and me, and chiefly towards God, whose truths he hath declared to you. I purposed to have rested herewith, to which little can be added; but somewhat which he said hath minded me of my duty, and that it is not sufficient for me to exhort or admonish you by deputy; but as I am the father of this family, and must answer for your miscarriages, if I endeavour not to prevent and restrain them, but by connivance or silence shall make them mine, so I hold it requisite to let you know my sense of your demeanours from my own mouth.

“Some of you have so carried yourselves with such discretion, civility, soberness, and piety, that thereby you bring honour to yourselves, to me, to your country, and to our God and Father. To these I shall say, as Jacob said to his son Judah, ‘Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise,’ and as the Apostle exhorts, ‘Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise.’ It is due to good men, and it

rejoiceth my soul, that I can say to many of you as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, ‘Now I pray you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances as I delivered them to you.’ You have observed the orders of my family which I delivered to you. Herein you have given me contentment ; you have given good example to your fellows and to the people of this country ; you have pleased God, and praise is due to you from me your governor, sent for the praise of them that do well, as you have done.

“On the other side, I am sent for the punishment of evil-doers, and am sorry to hear of too many such among you. I have admonished you before, and it had been better both for you and me if there were not cause to admonish you again.

“Some of you, I hear, esteem yourselves too much kept under and abridged of your freedom, because I will not permit your riotous courses ; and you say you will not be slaves to man : to me I am sure you know you are not, and I shall endeavour that ye be not slaves to Satan. The best among you, whilst you are of my retinue, ought to observe my orders, which make none slaves, but all are as free as myself, who observe them as well as you, and will have them observed by all under my charge and care. I will not give you freedom to serve your lusts and sin : is my service therefore slavish ?

“The servile condition and that of true freedom are clearly described by St. John : ‘Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.’ If you apply yourselves to the study of the truths of God, that will make you free ; you have the truth of God to testify it, and, blessed be God, none of us are debarred from this freedom. The Jews said, ‘We be Abraham’s seed, and were never in bondage to any man : how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free ?’ Our Saviour answers, ‘Whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin. If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.’ If ye commit sin, if ye haunt drinking-houses and

riotous courses, ye are then in bondage and slaves to Satan, from which it is my duty to restrain you ; other freedom you do not, you shall not want.

“Have I not been a father to you all, sick and well ? Have you wanted anything in my care and power to supply you ? Have not I undergone the same hardships and dangers with you ? Yet some repay my kindness with dishonouring me in the sight of strangers. Hath your country, your religion, merited to be scandalized by you among foreigners ? Will you profane the name of God who hath so wonderfully preserved us, and destroy your precious souls by your evil ways ? For shame ! depart from them ; I admonish you to forsake them, and expect conformity to my orders, and a pious and civil conversation in my family, whereby you will do yourselves and me good, and God will take pleasure still to do us all good. If you will not be persuaded to leave your sinful courses, you must leave me. If I can, through the goodness of God, I will not have a wicked person dwell in my house, but I and my family will serve the Lord.”

January 23, 1653.

Piementelle and Lagerfeldt doing Whitelocke the honour to dine with him, they had much discourse about the treaty, wherein Piementelle was reserved in the other's presence. Lagerfeldt made an excuse from the Chancellor for his not meeting upon the treaty, because he was not well, and therefore could not bend his mind to those affairs ; but hoped within two or three days he should recover his health, and then he would neglect no opportunity of conferring with Whitelocke further upon those matters.

Further
conference
with Lager-
feldt.

Whitelocke. I am sorry for the indisposition of my Lord Chancellor, for his sake and my own, in respect of the treaty, wherein I much desire expedition, and

the rather because I know not how soon the Protector may command my return home.

Lagerfeldt. I doubt not but the treaty will in a short time come to a happy issue, and I know the Chancellor will speedily and heartily intend it; and it is not possible for your Excellence to return to England till the spring, about May, because till then these seas will be frozen, and the shore so full of ice that, without imminent danger, one cannot go by sea.

Wh. I cannot go by land because I must pass through the territories of the Dane and Hollander, our enemies; and I cannot write to my friends in England and have an answer from them in less than two months' time; yet if the Chancellor please to give a despatch to my business, I will adventure some way or other to get home; but after our present rate I may stay till next winter.

Lag. I doubt not but within a very few days the Chancellor will meet again and give a speedy despatch to your treaty, which I shall further all that lies in my power.

Wh. You will thereby much oblige me.

January 24, 1653.

Whitelocke
being indis-
posed, re-
ceives
visits.

Whitelocke, being much indisposed and ill with a feverish distemper, kept his chamber; whereof the Queen having notice, sent her favourite Grave Tott to visit him, who returned his humble acknowledgment of this great favour from her Majesty.

Woolfeldt sent to visit him, and most of the grantees in town used the like ceremony to him. The French Resident came in the afternoon to visit him,

and reported a great victory which his master had obtained against the Spaniard in Catalonia; and whilst he was relating it, came in the King of Spain's Resident; and it was pleasant to hear the compliments between these two public ministers, and touching the reciprocal affection which their masters did bear the one towards the other, and the great friendship between them, whereas singly neither would speak a good word of the other's master or servants. Whitelocke was much put to it to place them so in his chamber that neither might take offence, which he did upon his bed, and himself sitting in a chair by them; and the French Resident staid not long.

After he was gone, Piementelle was free in his discourse about Whitelocke's treaty and other matters, and particularly of Dunkirk; and Whitelocke acquainted him with the honourable proceedings of the English when that town was offered to be delivered to them, which they refused to accept by treachery; and Whitelocke and one gentleman more only were employed by Cromwell in that business, and all of it passed through their hands. At which relation Piementelle seemed much pleased, and highly commended the honour and justice of the English in the carriage of that matter.

They then fell into discourse of the Chancellor and his slow proceedings in business, which Piementelle much blamed. Whitelocke desired him to take occasion to give some hint to the Queen of Whitelocke's apprehension of the delay, and to persuade her Majesty to a satisfaction of Whitelocke's reasonable demands in the treaty; which Piementelle promised to do to the advantage of Whitelocke's business, and

Whitelocke believed he did the same affectionately. Whitelocke drolled with him touching his complimenting of the French Resident ; and he said that men in his condition must give to others at least as good as they bring. He took leave, and afterwards sent to Whitelocke a present of citrons, grenades, and curious Spanish comfitures.

Woolfeldt, in the afternoon, also visited Whitelocke and discoursed of the Chancellor's slowness in business, and that he had a little envy towards the Protector because he had done greater things than the Chancellor had done, and had advanced himself to that estate which the Chancellor had proposed to himself to have done when the Queen was young, but could not arrive at it as Cromwell had done. Whitelocke answered, that in England they esteemed the Chancellor to be a friend to their Commonwealth and Parliament. Woolfeldt replied, that was true, but yet he was no friend to Cromwell the Protector.

Whitelocke did somewhat marvel that this gentleman should tell him the same thing concerning the Chancellor as the Queen had told him before, and, recollecting himself, he had found the Chancellor, upon the business of his treaty, not so well satisfied as the Queen herself was, nor so forward in it since the news of Cromwell's being made Protector as he was before ; that all the objections still came from him, and were not easy to be removed. Whether this were occasioned through the slowness or rather deliberativeness of the old Chancellor, or out of any personal envy of him to Cromwell, Whitelocke did not take upon him to make a judgement, but was more apt to believe it to be cautiousness and wisdom than dul-

ness or envy. Howsoever, Whitelocke determined to put as much as he could to the Queen and upon her promise and affection; and to use all the means of courtship and civilities, both to the Queen and to her Chancellor and others, to obtain his honest ends.

January 25, 1653.

The Queen sent again one of the gentlemen of her bedchamber to visit Whitelocke and inquire of his health; who, after some physic, was a little better, and returned his humble thanks for her Majesty's great favour.

Whitelocke
serenaded,
and receives
further
visits.

The Chancellor sent his secretary to see how Whitelocke did, and he said that his Lordship intended to have come to Whitelocke this day, but in regard of the extreme intemperateness of the air and the great snow, he was not able to come abroad, but desired the meeting might be deferred to another day, and the rather because he heard of Whitelocke's indisposition of health. Whitelocke answered, that he thanked God he was not so ill at present as that his business thereby should receive delay, but whensoever the Chancellor pleased he hoped that he should be able to give him a meeting.

In the evening, Whitelocke being reasonably well recovered, the music of the church here, about twenty persons, came to Whitelocke's house, and brought with them their instruments of music, sackbuts, cornets, and violins, and did sing and play in his presence reasonably well, although not exactly; and for their pains Whitelocke bestowed on them forty rix-dollars, whereof they were nothing shy in the accept-

ance. Whitelocke was informed that these musicians were sent to him from the Archbishop of Upsal, who was newly come to town, and of whom Whitelocke had received an extraordinarily good character for his learning and piety. Thereupon Whitelocke sent his son James in his name to visit the Archbishop, and to congratulate his safe arrival in this place. The Archbishop took this compliment with much kindness, treated Whitelocke's son with all civility, and told him that in a short time he purposed to give a visit to the English Ambassador.

January 26, 1653.

A conversation on England and the doctrine of 'Mare Liberum.'

Senator Bundt visited Whitelocke. He had an alliance by marriage with the family of the Lord George in England, which occasioned his having been in England, whereof he discoursed much, and chiefly commended Wiltshire, and praised the whole country for its fertility, healthfulness, plenty, and profit, even to the preferring of it, and that not without cause, to the country about Upsal. He also informed Whitelocke of the town and University of Upsal. Whitelocke asked him if he had seen the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge? He said, Yes, and that they were greater than Upsal, which was agreed by Whitelocke, who said that divers colleges in them were greater than the whole Universities in other countries, but he spared to name Upsal. He fell into a large encomium of the ports, havens, and trade of England, and touching their dominion at sea. He doubted the point of the sovereignty claimed by England in the narrow seas, approving the opinion of Grotius's 'Mare

Liberum,' which he said he had read, and gained much satisfaction by it in this point. Whitelocke desired him to read likewise Selden's 'Mare Clausum,' which he offered him, and said he doubted not but that thereby his Excellence would receive more satisfaction in the point of the right of England in the dominion of the British seas; for which Whitelocke shortly remembered to him some material arguments which he formerly gathered in his studies on this subject; and concluded, that if the Queen his mistress should become mistress of the Sound, that then his Excellence would be of another opinion, and hold the learning of 'Mare Clausum' to be orthodox in the Baltic Sea.

The weather being fair and no wind stirring, White-
locke rode about half a league out of town to take Intelli-
gence from
England. the air, and found himself the better for it. At his return home he found welcome letters from England, and in those from Thurloe a full account touching the Dutch treaty, and of the letters of the Dutch Resident here to his superiors, wherein he little fears that Whitelocke's treaty will come to anything, and saith that the Queen will agree to nothing in prejudice of the Hollander.

By other letters he had a relation of the gallant fight which his frigate the 'Phoenix' made with three Dutch men-of-war in her return home, whom she tore and killed many of their men, and came off herself but with the loss of eighteen men, with many wounded, and the ship and tackle much spoiled.

This he caused to be published, and so that it might come to the Dutch Resident; and to cause the greater esteem of the force of the English ships, and the con-

trary of the Dutch. The 'Phoenix' was much cried up in the Court, and the like believed of the rest of the English navy, which was some furtherance to Whitelocke's business.

The intelligence of the treaty with the Dutch he likewise caused to be published, that thereby the clearness and honour of the English proceedings might be known, and the contrary of their enemies. The Chancellor highly approved what the English had done therein, and said that the Dutch had done according to their custom, to pretend plenipotency till the business was brought to an issue, and then to defer the conclusion to their superiors, which he said was their jealousy of one another and of all persons whom they had to deal with. He also published part of that intelligence concerning the French as far as it might advantage his own business, their endeavours to hinder the Dutch business, and applications to the Protector. The news of Spain, as to correspondence with the Protector, he also made known. That of Scotland he set forth to the full: the inconsiderableness of the enemy, and the power and success of England there, and this notwithstanding the late change. The Queen was pleased with these relations, which did much raise in her esteem the Protector and Commonwealth of England, and further the treaty here.

The French Resident continued his visits to Whitelocke, and magnified the affections of the King his master to England, particularly in the Dutch treaty, to whom Whitelocke would now and then give a hint that he might perceive Whitelocke understood the secret passages therein.

Whitelocke's intelligence being so full and certain,

it came to pass that in this Court, by all except the enemies of England, it was received for authentic, and that of the adverse party little regarded or believed.

At this time was sitting in Upsal a public council, called by them the *Outscot*, which signifies with them select persons out of the rest of valuable men. *Scot* signifies, with them as with us, a public payment,—as we say, one that pays scot and lot; and *out* signifies, with them as with us, from, or out of: so *Outscot* is a council selected and called by the Queen out of such as pay scot—substantial men. The occasion of summoning this council is usually when the Queen would raise any soldiers, make a war, or levy money, or the like; then they summon the *Outscot*, which consists of the senators, some of the nobility and clergy, and one or two from each territory or hundred, and some burghers; and these not elected by the people, but summoned by the Queen, and whom she thinks fit, and to advise her in such matters as she proposeth to them. But they can only give their counsel, and not levy men or money, or make any law by their own authority, those powers being only in the Supreme Council, their *Ricksdag*, like our Parliament. And this *Outscot* hath some resemblance to the ancient great Council of our King, only that had no commoners as this hath, and is more like to the Council sitting when Whitelocke came out of England, consisting of persons selected and summoned by Cromwell, but they assumed parliamentary power.

Seldom this, or any other public Councils, differs or dissents from what the Queen proposeth, so great is her influence on them.

January 27, 1653.

Further
conference
on the
Treaty.

The Chancellor came to Whitelocke's house, where they were three hours together in conference, part whereof follows:—

Chancellor. I ask your pardon that I have staid so long before I came to you again to confer upon the treaty.

Whitelocke. I am glad of the honour of your company, and of the progress of my business thereby; and you will excuse me if I thought the time long before we met again about the treaty.

Chan. I confess ingenuously to you, that I desired to see this week's letters from England before our meeting.

Wh. I thank you for that clearness, and these letters prove no disadvantage to our English affairs: by them appears what good satisfaction is received in the late change there, and that the honour and happiness of the Protector and Commonwealth seem every day more and more confirmed.

Chan. I am glad your affairs are in so good a posture and condition.

Wh. I shall read the particulars out of my letters, whereby you will have a clear prospect of our affairs, of our great successes against our enemies, and the honourable dealing of our Commonwealth with their envious neighbours, and their contrary actions.

Chan. The same particulars I have in my letters, both from England and Holland.

Wh. I am glad my intelligence is so good.

Chan. I have not met with any public minister who hath kept his credit so high as you have done in the

truth of your intelligence, and that hath been so well furnished with it, relating to other States and to your own.

Wh. My opinion and practice hath ever been, and I hope, by the grace of God, ever shall be, to affirm nothing but truth; and it concerns me to know the passages in other countries, that I may the better serve my own.

Chan. It is duty and prudence so to do; and I am glad to see the stability, and wish the happiness of your Commonwealth and of the Protector, whom I much honour for his wisdom and great parts and actions.

Wh. Your respects are not placed upon one who will not appear to deserve them, and to be worthy of the friendship of your Excellence and of the Queen and kingdom.

Chan. I shall be ready to further that amity.

Wh. I suppose your Excellence is satisfied upon the former debate touching my second article, that the mutual assistance of England and Sweden against their respective enemies will be of equal advantage and good to both.

Chan. The objection to that is, that we thereby may be involved in a war on your behalf, we being now in peace with our neighbours.

Wh. It is not certain how soon you may be in war with some of your neighbours, and then we must be involved therein on your behalf; and our English wars, through the blessing of God, are not likely to be of any long continuance.

Chan. I am glad of your good successes, and though your war with the Dutch should continue, yet methinks

that the ships of your friends should not be so disturbed in their trading as they are by your capers and men-of-war.

Wh. Our men-of-war disturb no trading, except men carry contraband goods to our enemies.

Chan. Why may not our merchants, being your friends and friends to your enemies, carry any goods to either of you, without being, as we are, taken and endamaged?*

Wh. Our enemies, though perhaps seeming friends to you, yet will not suffer your ships nor any other to bring us any goods imperiously forbidden by them; and it is but equal, if not necessary, that we do the like.

Chan. I think it is too much for either of you to make such prohibitions to those who are not under your dominion, and thereby to hinder trade and navigation.

Wh. You have done the same in the war between you and Denmark; and with us the Dutch made the first prohibition.

Chan. The fourth article is too hard for us to consent unto; and we should be very severe to those who are now living amongst us, and have given no offence to us, if we should banish them out of our territories, as that article requires.

Wh. This objection being made formerly by you, I have considered it, and find the latter part of the article to be only that you shall not admit or receive

* [Oxenstiern here asserts the principle of "free ships make free goods," which began at that time to be professed by the minor maritime States. Whitelocke's defence of the contrary usage is based solely on the example of other States.]

into your territories any of the rebels or traitors to England.

Chan. That is not just for us to consent unto.

Wh. For your satisfaction, I have penned an additional clause to this article, in these words:—

“Proviso quod articulus hic non extendat, etc.”

“Provided that this article do not extend to any persons now living under the Government of the Queen of Sweden, so that such persons have not been excepted from pardon by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; and so that for the future they neither act nor attempt anything against the Commonwealth of England.”

Chan. This additional clause will take off much from the difficulty of passing that article, and it is offered with great reason and judgement. I shall acquaint the Queen herewith, and doubt not but you will have a satisfactory return concerning this particular.

Wh. Have you been pleased to consider further of my fifth article, which is for mutual assistance of both States, by sea and land, for removing impediments of trade in the Baltic Sea, and the exactions and oppressions in the Sound, and for the liberty of navigation?*

Chan. I have considered it, and that the Crown of Sweden is at present at peace with Denmark, and all the Queen's subjects have free navigation through the Sound; and it is true that the English have not free passage there, and for that reason the article is not

* [It is remarkable that this question continues at the present time, just two centuries after Whitelocke's Embassy, to be fiercely agitated in Germany, and occasionally discussed in Europe, and even by the United States. The difficulty of the Sound was settled by Cromwell's treaty with Denmark in the following year; and the payment of these dues is now regulated by the Treaty of 1841, which confirms the engagements of 1654, 1670, and 1701.]

equal. What leagues or treaties are between England and Denmark I know not, but desire to be informed by you, and much wonder at what you have told me; and what I myself knew of the King of Denmark's dealing in such a manner as he hath done with England, I think it a great error in him and his counsels. But in case this fifth article should be agreed upon, it would engage Sweden in a war with Denmark, when they have no cause in relation to themselves, but to England.

W^h. I do not apprehend Sweden to be wholly out of danger of new wars with Denmark and others, being a continent encompassed with ambitious neighbours envying your greatness; and the King of Denmark, if he find an advantage, will soon deal with you as he hath done with England, contrary to express leagues and treaties between us, the copy whereof, and of all leagues that I think have passed between the two nations, I have here, and you shall see them when you please. As to the Sound, I look upon this article of much more advantage to Sweden than to England, when I consider their right in the Baltic Sea, the many ports the Queen hath upon it for the vent of the commodities of her country on both sides that sea; and though her subjects have now free navigation through the Sound, yet if other nations have it not, whereby they cannot frequent her Majesty's ports, and her commodities be vented to them, it will be no small prejudice to you. The more and more free access may be had into those seas, the better for your trade; and the same being at present interrupted, and may be, when the King of Denmark pleaseth, more interrupted, will be a great damage and injury to you.

And whether you judge it for your interest that the oppressions and interruptions there, which generally light upon the Queen and her subjects as well as others, be continued and increased, must be left to you as your own business ; but if you shall hold it fit to remove and prevent them, you are offered the friendship and assistance of England for that purpose, and, blessed be God, you see they are not weak at sea ; and besides particular interests, it is honourable and just as to the common interest and liberty of trade and navigation. Nor doth this article bind you up to any precise or punctual way or war herein, but is a general league between the two nations ; and particulars are left to a future consideration and agreement.

Chan. I confess the interest of Sweden is much concerned in the free navigation through the Sound, and we ought to endeavour it, which possibly may be obtained by other means than by force.

W^h. The means are not determined by these articles, but left to future accord ; but the conjunction of both nations will sooner effect a free navigation by any means which shall be thought fit, than if they be not confederate.

Chan. I acknowledge that I have received much satisfaction from you in the points we have debated at this conference, and I hope there will be no great difficulty in the business. I shall acquaint the Queen with what hath passed between us, and very shortly we will meet again about it.

W^h. I desire it may be as soon as conveniency will permit, because I know not how soon my Lord Protector may command me other service.

Chan. There will be no delay in the transaction of this business, and I hope no dissatisfaction.

The discourse of Poland, Muscovia, Germany, and other passages, are omitted, and the substance of what related to this business shortly inserted.

January 28, 1653.

Whitelocke
receives the
Archbishop
of Upsal.

Grave Tott came to visit Whitelocke from the Queen, and to inquire of his health; and told him that the Queen was going a-hunting two or three leagues from Upsal, and would return within a day or two. Whitelocke desired his thanks might be returned to her Majesty, and said that if he had known of her design, and that his service might have been acceptable, he should have waited on her Majesty to the chase, being a lover of hunting. The Grave replied that Whitelocke's company would have been very acceptable to her Majesty, and she would have invited him to the sport, but that she believed his health would not permit it.

The Archbishop of Upsal came to Whitelocke's house to visit him. His equipage was not sumptuous, his coach but mean, his two horses suitable; a kinsman, a grave doctor, in his company, two servants like to gentlemen, and one lacquey in a plain livery. The reason of his small train and state was given because his revenue was but fifteen hundred or two thousand rix-dollars (which is about £500 of our money) yearly, and the other bishoprics of lower value, their means having been lessened and their powers abridged, as is related, upon this occasion.

An Archbishop, predecessor to this, being in his

flourishing estate, rich in revenue and high in power, as all the bishops then were, invited the King and senators, and magnificently feasted them in his palace ; but in his treatment, by his haughty carriage, gave so great distaste to the King and senators, that there-upon they took occasion at the next Ricksdag so to order the matter, that, by public ordinance, the bishops and clergy were debarred from intermeddling in civil affairs, and their revenues were also lessened, which brought them to a lower condition than formerly they were in, and this Archbishop to his present posture.

He was a comely, grave old man, near eighty years of age, yet of a fresh and ruddy countenance ; his beard long and white, his stature middle-sized, his carriage humble and gentle. His head was covered with a black velvet cap, furred and turned up, after the manner of his country, with another cap under it ; a cassock of black silk stuff like to our bishop's habit, with a long cloak over it. He spake Latin fluently but not pedantically, and expressed himself with good reason, mixed with cheerfulness and learning, especially out of the Fathers and human authorities ; and he was more ready than others of his coat in texts of holy Scripture.

His companion, the doctor, was habited like his Metropolitan : a grave and sober man, with a long black beard and a civil behaviour. He spake good Latin, and was well learned ; and it may be supposed they would not choose the unfittest men to discourse with a foreign ambassador. He spake not much in the presence of the Archbishop. Some of their discourse follows.

Archbishop. We in these parts of the world had

great astonishment at the actions and alterations in your country, especially concerning the change of your Government, wherein I should be glad to receive some information from your Excellence, if you please to allow me the freedom of discourse in so tender a point as this is.

Whitelocke. Your Grace is master of your own freedom and discourse, wherein I know nothing will be let fall reflecting upon the honour of the Commonwealth whom I serve; and I shall be very ready to give you what satisfaction lies in my capacity in those things which you shall hold fit to demand of me.

Abp. I shall be far from anything which in the least measure may reflect upon the honour of your Commonwealth, to which I bear a due respect, acknowledging that you have done great and wonderful things in your late transactions, wherein God hath appeared much on your side.

Wh. It hath pleased the Lord to own the Parliament and our Commonwealth in a strange series of His providences, judging on our side in all our appeals to Him in the day of battle; and in all our exigencies He hath been found by us, and been our refuge and deliverer in the time of trouble, the particulars whereof, I presume, have been made known to you and to most parts of the world.

Abp. You speak more like a bishop yourself than like a soldier. It is the part of every good Christian to acknowledge with thankfulness God's goodness, which hath been eminent to your Commonwealth, whereof we have heard so much, and confessed by your enemies, that it is yet hard to be believed.

Wh. Those who have had the honour to act in our

affairs have seen so much of God in them, that we have more cause than others to speak good of His name; and surely this kind of speaking, bishops, soldiers, and ambassadors, and all sorts of good Christians, and the wonders whereof we have been eyewitnesses, I assure your Grace have not been less than report hath made them.

Abp. They have been indeed wonderful and successful; but with your leave, my Lord Ambassador, we in these parts do not understand what necessity you were put unto to take away your settled and ancient government by kings, wholly to abolish it, and to resolve into a republic.

Wh. It was judged a prudence and necessity upon the Parliament party, for the safety and securing themselves and their cause after their sword had been drawn against the King, not only to throw away the scabbard but to abolish kingly government, and to admit no more kings, which they thought could never be reconciled to them, and to resolve into a republic, that they might enjoy their just rights and liberties, which had been invaded and wrested from them by their kings.

Abp. But how could their consciences be satisfied, for the preservation of their own rights, to take away the right of kings, and for their own safety to destroy their king?

Wh. Self-preservation goes far with mortal men, and they held the rights of a people more to be regarded than anything relating to a particular person; and that it is not the right of a king to govern a people, but the consent of a people that such a king shall govern them; which if he do not according to

justice and their law, they hold that the people for whom and for whose good, and for preservation of whose rights he is entrusted as the supreme officer, may, if they please, remove him from that office. And upon this ground the people's deputies, in our supreme council, the Parliament, thought fit to take away the government by kings, and to make it a Republic.

Doctor. It is no false doctrine that kings are for the good of the people, and that the people were not made for kings, but kings for the people's sake; yet the people have not more flourished under any administration than that of kings.

Abp. Besides, for the approbation of the government by kings, we find many precepts and promises in holy Scripture.

W^h. Those precepts and promises are by some applied to all governors, and in general to all forms as well as that of kings; and there be also dislikes and disapprobations of government by kings, as that in Samuel, when a king was desired they are said to reject God.

Abp. That is to be taken in respect of the manner and time of the demand, not of the demand itself.

Dr. We find the duty of a king set down in Deuteronomy, and many examples of good and holy kings of Israel and of Judah.

W^h. I doubt that of them, and of all other rulers, there may be found as many who did evil in the sight of the Lord; and we find a general approbation of the judges of Israel.

Abp. The judges had kingly power; and certainly the government by kings is nowhere decried as unlawful.

Wh. I do not judge it unlawful, nor against the Word of God or examples of Scripture, but do believe they shall be nursing-fathers ; but, as things were then with us, the representatives of the people judged the government of a free State to be at that time best for them.

Much other discourse was at this meeting on that subject.

January 29, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—Lagerfeldt visited Whitelocke, and had discourse with him about the treaty, and how great an opinion the Chancellor had of him ; that he had received much satisfaction from him ; and said that he doubted not but that his business would come to a speedy and good issue,—to his contentment.

The Lord's Day imperfectly observed by the Swedes.

The Queen returned early in the morning from the country, this being usually with them a day of travel ; and it being the time of a fair, the shops were open all the day, as they had been the preceding Sunday. So little regard have they of this day, or of the observation of it, but perform the ordinary works of their callings,—buying and selling, carting and travelling, upon this as upon any other day ; and, which is yet worse, acting commonly and openly their debaucheries, and appointing their drinking meetings on the Lord's Day.

Visits were made to Whitelocke upon this day, and to let him know of the Queen being returned to this place. But he staid in his own house, not going abroad himself, nor suffering his people to roam abroad this day, but all of them joined together in the worship of God ; and, according to his custom, he

had two good sermons in his house this day, and good and spiritual prayers offered up to God in the worship of him; and divers English and Scotch in this town were now as usually present to be partakers of these duties.

January 30, 1653.

Queen
Christina's
hunting
parties.

Whitelocke visited Piementelle, with whom he had useful discourse about his negotiation, and pleasant, touching the Queen's hunting. He also visited Woolfeldt, who entertained him with different discourse; whereof he made good use in the transaction of his business, and passed divers hours with him,—gaining knowledge from his experience, and delight by his facetious conversation. He also received a visit from Lagerfeldt, who in the Queen's name made offer to him of her Majesty's sledges,—to make use of them when he pleased to take the fresh air; for which favour he returned his humble thanks. He visited the Queen to welcome her from her hunting, which in this country was described to him to be in this manner:—

As many people as they can get together,—with guns, bows, staves, and other weapons,—in a great multitude, some on horseback and more on foot, go to some great wood where wild beasts do harbour; and as many nets and gins as they can get and make they set about the wood, at the places where the beasts use to come forth. Then they put some hounds into the wood, with people to beat it; the rest of the company surround the wood on the outside, with as many dogs of all sorts as they can bring from all quarters. When any beast is started or roused and comes forth, be it coney, hare, deer, fox, wolf, bear, or any other,

if it escape the nets, gins, and guns, then they set their dogs as many as they can upon it; and some pursue one and some another beast, until they kill or take it, or that it do escape them.

Whitelocke, to requite the Queen's relation, told her the manner of their hunting in his country, which he endeavoured to set out the best he could, as a great lover of it,—and their dogs and horses, which her Majesty highly commended, and said she would send into England for some horses. Whitelocke told her that if she had a liking to any of his horses, they were at her Majesty's service to take her choice of any of them; for which she gave him thanks, and seemed not unwilling to accept of the compliment.

She then spake of Dr. Whistler, of whom she had heard that he was a learned man and an excellent physician, and she desired to speak with him. White-
locke gave a character of worth of the Doctor to the Queen, as he deserved, and said that the Doctor should wait on her Majesty when she pleased to command him, and she would take contentment in him.

*Interview
with the
Queen.*

Queen. Have not you a secretary who hath been in Spain?

Whitelocke. One of my ancient domestic servants (and one of my secretaries) hath been in Spain, and is an honest, faithful servant.

Qu. I have heard that one of your daughters is of a good spirit, and averse to marriage.

Wh. My eldest daughter hath a good spirit, and therein hath the honour of following your Majesty's pattern, and she hath refused good offers in marriage.

Qu. My Chancellor is much satisfied by the conference he had with you; and I have ordered him to

draw somewhat in writing for the clearing of some matters in the articles, and to draw an answer in writing to the papers which you gave me since your change of government. I desire to know what will become of your treaty with the Dutch before I give a full answer to your articles, because the ordering of our treaty will much depend upon your business with the Dutch.

Wh. I have given your Majesty an account of that business.

Qu. And I have received much satisfaction by it.

Wh. Whether England have peace with the Dutch or not, yet the amity between England and Sweden may be concluded to the honour and good of both; and perhaps not of less advantage to both, in case our differences with Holland should continue.

Qu. But there will be alteration in some particulars, according as your treaty with the Dutch shall take effect, one way or other, and the resolutions to be taken here must necessarily have a dependence thereupon.

Wh. Your Majesty's time must be observed, but my desire is for what expedition may be.

Qu. My Chancellor is an old man, and will take up much time in his discourse before he come to the business; but he will come to it at last, and agree to reason.

Wh. He is a person of great wisdom and abilities; perhaps he and his sons may have some shares in merchants' ships, which may occasion their extraordinary care in matters of that nature.

Qu. That is very true; but I will be judge at last, and you shall not be unnecessarily delayed.

January 31, 1653.

Canterstein, one of the Queen's secretaries, came to Whitelocke from her Majesty to inform him that the Queen, having received a paper from the Resident of Holland, held it requisite to give an answer thereunto in writing; but before she sent it to the Resident, she was pleased to testify that respect to the Commonwealth of England as to communicate it to their Ambassador here. Whitelocke acknowledged with all thankfulness her Majesty's good affections and respects herein to his superiors and to their servant. He read the paper, which was in Latin, to this effect:—

The affair of
the Dutch
ships at Go-
thenburg.

*The Answer to the Writing of the Public Minister of
Holland.*

“That the Queen was affected with the fault committed by the English ship at Gothenburg, and that she would communicate upon that matter with the English Ambassador, and would firmly preserve peace and a good correspondence with the Commonwealths of both States.”

Whitelocke desired to see the Resident's paper given to the Queen, but the Secretary said he had it not. Whitelocke excepted to the expression in this answer, “culpam commissam,” and said he knew of no fault committed by any English ship at Gothenburg, as this answer presupposeth, but what was done by the English ships there was justifiable; but that this expression would reflect upon the honour of the Commonwealth of England, and of their Ambassador, who had the government and command of all the English ships which were at Gothenburg when he was there.

He related to Canterstein what had been done by the ‘Phoenix’ and ‘Elizabeth’ frigates, and by Captain

Welch, which he justified ; and desired to know where the fault was, and that those words in this answer of “culpam commissam” might be omitted. The Secretary answered that he did not know any fault committed by the English ships, and he believed that the Queen was of that opinion, and that this paper was only to entertain the Hollanders in good humour ; and those were but words which might be changed, as in saying that the Holland Resident mentioned a fault, etc. ; and he said he would speak to the Queen thereupon. Whitelocke desired it might be amended, and so they parted ; and this troublesome and busy month of January ended.

FEBRUARY.

February 1, 1653.

WHITELOCKE, not having heard from the Chancellor since their last meeting, held it fit to send one of his servants to him, to know what time he would permit him to come to his lodging. The Chancellor desired to be excused that day, because he was busy about the Queen's affairs; but as soon as he could have leisure he would send to Whitelocke to advertise him thereof.

Whitelocke
presents
three Eng-
lish horses
to the
Queen.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and desired of him the favour to write to his superiors in the behalf of one of the Queen's subjects, whose goods in a ship at London were detained. Whitelocke wrote to Thurloe, earnestly pressing that those goods might be restored to gratify Lagerfeldt, who had been very respectful to him and serviceable to the Protector here; and that thereby the interest of Whitelocke with the Protector might be testified, and he the better enabled to do his Highness service here.

Lagerfeldt often took occasion to speak of the Queen's high commending of our English horses, and particularly those that Whitelocke had here, which she had seen and much praised them; and said that she had a great desire of having some English horses,

and that she had chidden Lagerfeldt because when he was in England he had not bought some English horses and brought them hither to her Majesty, whom he knew to be so desirous of them.

Whitelocke understood this Swedish language, and the English of it to be to get some of his horses for the Queen, which he the sooner apprehended by the late discourse of the Queen herself in commendation of his horses. He also thought that it might be some furtherance to his business to give the Queen contentment in so small a matter as this, and therefore resolved to make a present of three of his best saddle-horses to the Queen, such as were fittest for her own riding. In order whereunto he sent the yeoman of his stable to the Baron of Steinberg, the Master of the Queen's Horse, to advertise him that he had given order for three of his horses to be brought to the castle, as a small present to her Majesty, whereof he desired the Baron to give her notice.

The horses being brought into the castle-yard, the Queen, having notice of it by Steinberg, came to the window to see them, and stood a great while looking on them, and much commending them, and Whitelocke's nobleness in making such a present to her. Afterwards Steinberg came to Whitelocke's house from the Queen, to give him thanks for the noble present which he had sent to her Majesty, highly commending the horses, and saying that nothing could have been more agreeable to her Majesty than this present of horses, and that she should have mounted them herself presently had not the snow hindered her.

Steinberg sent forty rix-dollars to Captain de

Crispe, the yeoman of Whitelocke's stable, and twenty rix-dollars more to the three grooms that brought the horses to the castle; and some supposed that the Queen's officers took the liberty to retain part of her Majesty's bounty to themselves, which is said to be usual with them. Stapleton, the gentleman of the horse to Whitelocke, was not willing himself to go with the horses when they were presented; which had not been improper for him, nor to his disadvantage.

February 2, 1653.

Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern having sent a present of a deer to Whitelocke (proper from him, being master of her game), the deer being larger than the English fallow-deer, but very lean, and hardly worth dressing; yet Whitelocke ordered that his cooks should make the best meat they could of it; and this day, to take part of it, Woolfeldt, Lagerfeldt, Colonel Hamilton, and the Baron Spence, dined with Whitelocke, and commended the cookery more than the ^{Swedish} venison.

After dinner Lagerfeldt hastened away; and Whitelocke desired him to hasten the Chancellor's proceedings in his treaty, which Whitelocke greatly desired to despatch, and to see an end of it as soon as might be, not knowing in how short a time he might be commanded home.

After Lagerfeldt was gone, Whitelocke had much discourse with Woolfeldt, who recited to him all his negotiation in England in the year 1642; and he spake freely touching Whitelocke's negotiation here, and of the slowness of the Chancellor's proceedings, and of the advantages which he and his sons had by

trafficking. He held that the war between England and Holland was much for the advantage of the treaty here, who, he thought, would more desire that war to be continued than a peace to be made. He advised Whitelocke to remit his business to the Queen herself, from whom he would gain most ready despatch and satisfaction.

February 3, 1653.

Whitelocke sent to Grave Tott to procure him the favour to visit her Majesty at such time as she should appoint; but answer was returned that the Queen desired to be excused, being not well, and let blood that day, but some other time he should be very welcome.

After dinner the Baron Steinberg sent to Whitelocke's house three of the Queen's sledges, to use them for his pleasure to take the fresh air in them; and Whitelocke made use of them for that purpose, and gratified her Majesty's servants who brought them.

He visited Piementelle, who informed him that the Count Flaman, Governor of Artois, had a design to deliver the towns of St. Omer and Gravelines to the King of France; but his treason was detected, and he imprisoned and referred to justice. Upon discourse of the Dutch treaty in England, Piementelle showed unto Whitelocke a copy of the heads of the speech of the French Ambassador Chanut to the States General at the Hague, upon the return of their Deputies from England; wherein he congratulates the hopes of peace with England, and desires that his master the King of France may be comprised in that treaty with England.

Whitelocke sent the French copy of this speech

and the translation of it in English, to the Protector, to whom only he was permitted by Piementelle to communicate it. He gave intelligence to Thurloe of one Erpman, a Dane, and where he lay in London; and that he gave constant intelligence of all the proceedings in England both to Holland and Denmark, and doing very ill offices to England. He also gave advice to Thurloe of some motions and particular passages of the King of Scots, and of some counsels and purposes of his against the Commonwealth, which Whitelocke had learned in these parts, and from persons of quality and great knowledge and interest in the affairs of this Court, and of France and other parts; desiring Thurloe, by his intelligencers, to inquire further of these matters, and resolving himself to endeavour, by his correspondence, to gain further and more particular knowledge of these matters. He also gave a full account to the Protector and to Thurloe of all his proceedings here, desiring direction from thence in some points which he stated to them; and in this way the Council of State were informed and from time to time gave approbation of his proceedings.

Despatches
sent to the
Protector.

February 4, 1653.

The expenses of Whitelocke's voyage, and especially of his land journey, were excessive high, increased much by the rewards and gratuities which he esteemed himself, in honour to his country, bound to bestow on many persons who did courtesies for him, or were employed by him; and he held himself obliged not to do things meanly, or below the reputation of the great Commonwealth by him represented. To supply his

White-
locke's
expenses
exceed his
allowance.

occasions he had letters to several merchants at Hamburg, and at Gothenburg and Stockholm, by the credit of Mr. Phipps, a merchant in London.

When he was settled at Upsal his expenses there were very great, by reason of his New Year's gifts and rewards for services and for courtesies. But principally his expenses arose by his great hospitality, such as the Swedes said they never saw before. He had five tables furnished every meal, his own family being great, and his table daily frequented by divers of the grandees, and by inferior persons, who found there the best and most variety of meat that money could procure. He allowed all his people what fuel they would spend, to thirty of their loads in a day, out of care of their health in that cold country and season, whereof he held good fires a great means of preservation.

When he was here furnished with money, he charged the bills upon his two brothers-in-law, Wilson and Carleton, who made use of their credits for £3000 or £4000 together, that his bills might not be unsatisfied. But the difficulty lay in getting the money from the Council of State; for which end Whitelocke's wife wrote him word that she herself was attending the Protector with earnest solicitations, who civilly treated; but some of the members of the Council were not so civil, letting her wait early and long at their lodgings before she could be admitted to speak with their Honours, to get her husband's bills answered: only Sir Charles Oulsey was very civil and careful to procure that justice to have the bills paid. Hereupon Whitelocke took the boldness to write to the Protector, and to put him in mind of his promise touching Whitelocke's expenses, and to entreat him to order the sa-

tisfaction of his bills, and particularly the payment of £2000, which by this time he had spent beyond his allowance. He wrote also to the same effect to several of his friends of the Council; and at last right was done therein.

The Queen's secretary, Canterstein, came to Whitelocke from the Queen, to show him her Majesty's answer to the paper of the Holland Resident; which answer, upon Whitelocke's exception to the words "the fault committed," was now altered and amended as Whitelocke desired; and this was carried with so much seeresy that the Holland Resident knew nothing of it, else would have stormed at such an alteration. The statesmen here are very secret in their transactions, and have thereby no small advantage.

Canterstein also, by the Queen's command, showed Whitelocke the project of a letter from her Majesty to the Protector, to congratulate his title, the which she would not sign without Whitelocke's approbation; and Canterstein said she was resolved to testify as much respect to the Protector as to any of her allies.

Whitelocke liked the letter, and thought not fit to alter any part of it, only informed Canterstein of the Protector's titles, and acknowledged her Majesty's great respect unto his Highness.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and discoursed freely of the treaty, and the Chancellor's way in it; who, he said, had been accustomed to a course of commanding, and could hardly treat upon equal terms; and he advised Whitelocke to treat with the Queen herself, rather than with any other. Whitelocke said, it was his desire to treat with the Queen, from whom he was sure to find more reason and

The Spanish Minister advises on the treaty.

honour; and that he had not been used to be commanded by any but his superiors, which he supposed the Chancellor did not esteem himself. He did also communicate to Piementelle the unseemly answer of the Chancellor, when he sent to him to appoint a meeting, that he was not at leisure; which, Piementelle said, was like him. Whitelocke also advised with Piementelle about a letter which he purposed to send to the Chancellor, to hasten his business; but Piementelle dissuaded him from it, saying he believed the Queen would take it ill, who was very jealous of her honour and power, and did not like addresses to her ministers. Piementelle told Whitelocke of a question between him and the Ricks-Admiral, whose coach should go first at the bringing in of an ambassador: the Admiral insisting on it as his right, because Piementelle was but an Envoy Extraordinary; Piementelle alleged his being a public minister of the King of Spain; and the Queen resolved it for Piementelle to have precedence of all but the Prince's coach, and that Whitelocke was to have it of his likewise.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke in the name of the Chancellor, desiring to be excused that in eight days' space he had not met about the treaty, which was occasioned by his being extreme busy about the Queen's affairs, so that he could not have an opportunity of meeting; but on Monday or Tuesday next he purposed to have another conference, if Whitelocke's leisure would permit; who answered, that his leisure would have permitted him to have met every one of the last eight days if the Chancellor had had leisure, and he desired that there might be no longer delay. Lagerfeldt told Whitelocke that the Queen much de-

sired a mare of the English breed, who thereupon sent one to her for a present.

An Envoy from the Great Duke, or Emperor of Muscovia, arrived in this town; he came in sledges six hundred leagues; his train was not above twelve persons. He was entertained at the Queen's charge all the time of his stay here, as his master useth to entertain the Queen's Ambassador.

February 5, 1653.

Whitelocke, hearing that the Queen was not well, sent his son James to inquire of her Majesty's health. The Queen indisposed. She commanded to have him brought into her bed-chamber, where he delivered his message in Latin; and she complimented him in the same language, which she used not to speak but in a special favour, and bid him tell his father that she was well again, and now "se non alio morbo laborare, quam quod tres integros dies non convenerit ipsam,"—she was sick of no other disease, but that for three whole days he had not been with her.

The Syndic of Gothenburg informed Whitelocke that, by letters from the President of that city, he understood that one of Whitelocke's servants, Taylor, who was sent to Gothenburg to bring Whitelocke provisions from thence to Upsal, and to take up money of Mr. Goffe for it at Gothenburg, was gone to Denmark after Goffe; and that one who met Taylor in Denmark was returned to Gothenburg, and related that the post, of whom Taylor hired a horse, said he had heard nothing again either of the man or horse, which gave occasion to fear that some mischief had

befallen him, being a rash, disorderly young man. But he went from Upsal to Gothenburg, and from thence to Copenhagen, where he found out Goffe and received money of him, returned back to Gothenburg, and from thence brought Whitelocke goods in sledges safely to Upsal. And this tour was made in little more than one month's time.

February 6, 1653.

Mr. Ravius, a German gentleman, who was frequent in Whitelocke's house, gave him information of sundry passages relating to England which he had learned by his relations here, who were of a good interest in this Court, and well affected to the Commonwealth of England, especially a bishop, his father-in-law. This gentleman professed a great love to England, because he had been there relieved and placed in Oxford, and now repented his leaving that preferment. He, in gratitude, proposed to Whitelocke a way how the riches of that Commonwealth might be multiplied, in a way not unlike to that of the Bank in Holland, but of much greater advantage, as he believed. Whitelocke desired to have his project in writing, which was done, and by Whitelocke brought with him into England.

The Queen
studies
English.

The Queen had desired Whitelocke to instruct her in the English tongue, which she had a desire to learn; and Whitelocke brought her the beginning of an English grammar, which he had caused one of his chaplains, Monsieur De la Marche, to frame, and was fairly written in English and French by Mr. Moreland. Her Majesty was much pleased with it, and took pains at this and other times to understand it.

Whitelocke told her that, according to her command, he had brought his doctor of physic to attend her Majesty ; who presently sent for him into her bed-chamber, and discoursed a great while with him in French touching physic, and touching her own indisposition of health. She also propounded two questions to the doctor : 1. Whether physicians did know anything by their art, or whether they were guided by adventure and chance. 2. Whether good philosophers were good Christians. To both which the doctor's answers were full of ingenuity and learning. They discoursed long, and Whitelocke did not interrupt them ; and upon the point of circulation of the blood the doctor gave her more than ordinary satisfaction ; and in all matters she said she never received more from any person, and gave him the character of a learned, able scholar and physician.

and consults
White-
locke's phy-
sician.

The doctor being gone forth, the Queen told Whitelocke she was sorry that her Chancellor had used him with so much incivility, as she had understood by Piementelle ; and she prayed Whitelocke to excuse it, and offered to send to the Chancellor about it, and to cause him to make his own excuse for it ; but Whitelocke entreated her Majesty to take no notice of it, and she assured him of a speedy despatch of his treaty. She gave Whitelocke great thanks for the present of horses which he had sent her, and particularly for his son's mare.

Mr. Clavering informed Whitelocke that the merchants of Stockholm, and of the towns in Prussia, and other places of trade in the Queen's dominions, had a meeting of their agents, where they agreed upon a list of the losses they had sustained by the English, in

Claims upon
the English
Govern-
ment.

taking and detaining their ships and goods ; and they cast up their losses to 200,000 rix-dollars, for which they demand satisfaction of England, and are advised to have the same certified by the College of Trade, whereof Grave Eric Oxenstiern, the Chancellor's second son, is the President ; and they expect, upon the treaty with Whitelocke, that a course be taken for their satisfaction. Whitelocke held it not fit to take any notice of this business, unless the same were first proposed to him, and desired Clavinger to speak nothing of it ; but in case he could learn anything further of this matter, to let Whitelocke be informed of it.

February 7, 1653.

Conversa-
tion with
the Arch-
bishop on
Church go-
vernement.

According to the expectation and custom of this country, Whitelocke returned a visit to the Archbishop of Upsal, whose lodging was but mean in the rooms and furniture. After compliments and great civilities, they sat down and fell into discourse, part whereof follows :—

Whitelocke. Your Grace hath the honour, and most worthily, to be the Metropolitan of this kingdom.

Archbishop. It pleased the late King to esteem me worthy of that great charge, though I acknowledge myself unfit for it.

Wh. Your merits appear the more by your humility, which brings men to honour.

Abp. The word of God is so ; and the higher employments one is called unto, the more lowly he ought to be.

Wh. Your carriage agrees therewith, and report gives you a due reputation.

Abp. A good name is a blessed thing, and God is good to me herein, as in all other things; and I have respect from my brethren and others.

Wh. We in England have almost forgot the distinction of clergy and laity, supposing it to have been introduced by the Papacy for advancement of their order.

Abp. It is related here that you have not only abolished that distinction, but even hierarchy itself.

Wh. We have now no prelacy in England or Scotland; our bishops were their own destruction; but with you the authority and dignity of bishops continues as it was in former times.

Abp. The state ecclesiastical with us, blessed be God, is still preserved, and our Church governed by bishops and superintendents and their officers; by which means the Church of Christ here enjoys much peace, and flourisheth.

Wh. Long may you flourish, and enjoy quiet and the freedom and purity of the Gospel! which we hope, through the goodness of God, we also enjoy in England. Do the bishops and their officers with you determine those matters which you call ecclesiastical?

Abp. Their jurisdiction hath been formerly more ample than it is at present; but they still have the determination of spiritual matters, and government of the clergy.

Wh. Is there no appeal from them to the civil power?

Abp. In some cases there is, and also when they exceed their jurisdiction.

Wh. So it was with us in England; and the cognizance of marriages, divorces, adulteries, and crimes

contra bonos mores, which they called spiritual offences (although perhaps they might as well have been called carnal), and the questions about wills and testaments, belonged unto them, because they are usually made when men are *in extremis* and have need of ghostly counsel.

Abp. You speak more like a civilian than a soldier. The same jurisdiction, in effect, belongs to the ecclesiastical state here, and thereby the people have much ease, and acquiesce in those judgements; and our people are not given to contention, nor our clergy to disorder, so that the ecclesiastical government hath the less trouble.

Wh. It is a happy condition to live together in unity; but you suffer no dissenting in opinion.

Abp. No man must vent his private fancies or new opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Church; if he do, we severely punish it.

Wh. That is somewhat strict, and may be construed to a kind of assumption of infallibility.

Abp. We take no such thing upon us, but desire to preserve peace and unity in the Church and members of it.

Wh. Those are good things, but, I doubt, hardly to be settled in this world, where offences must come.

Abp. But woe to those by whom they come!

Wh. They may possibly come by too much imposing upon men's consciences, as well as by new opinions.

Abp. We impose no further than is warranted by the word of God.

Wh. And who interprets that word?

Abp. The Church of God.

Wh. The Holy Scriptures interpret one another.

Abp. That is true, and learned men are the best interpreters of those Scriptures.

Wh. We are not wanting of such men in England.

Abp. Then you are injured; for the report goes that you regard not learning, and that you are putting down the famous Universities in your country, whereby learning will wholly decay and be destroyed.

Wh. That indeed is an injury; and I assure you that our Universities were never in a more flourishing condition than now they are.

Abp. I am glad to hear it; and I confess I have not met with such learning in a soldier as you show.

Wh. I am but meanly learned; but our Universities are full of eminent learned men, and are the fountains from whence the whole land is watered with the streams of the Gospel, by sending out learned men from thence who labour in Christ's vineyard.

Abp. Are your ministers in repute among you?

Wh. Godly, learned, and able ministers were never in greater repute than they now are.

Abp. But I doubt their means is shortened by taking away the Church lands.

Wh. The lands of bishops, of deans and chapters, are sold; but the Parliament added to the means of the preaching ministry near £50,000 sterling yearly more than they had before.

Abp. That is a good addition. Are their livings in parishes by tithes, as ours are, and of good value?

Wh. Their maintenance is by tithes in their respective parishes, and by glebe-lands. Some of their livings are worth £500, £600, and £700 sterling, and most above £100 yearly.

Abp. That is far beyond the proportion in our country. How many spiritual livings have you?

Wh. There be in England near 10,000 benefices, there being so many parishes.

Abp. We have not half so many in this kingdom, but they are very large, nor are our spiritual benefices near the value of yours. Who bestows those benefices?

Wh. Private patrons; I and my colleagues do give many of them.

Abp. How can you bestow spiritual livings? Are you in holy orders?

Wh. Here are my orders by my side; but, as I am Keeper of the Seal of England, I have belonging to that place the gift of many spiritual benefices.

Abp. That is strange to me to belong to one that wears a sword. With us none but the bishops and superintendents, persons in holy orders, can bestow those livings.

Wh. Let me desire your Grace to inform me the manner of your institution of ministers, and conferring on them your spiritual benefices, as you call them.

Abp. We call them spiritual livings because they are for the livelihood of spiritual men; and I shall inform your Excellence the way of our ordination of men for such a holy function to preach the Gospel. When one is presented to the bishop for that calling, if he is found in learning and abilities fit for it, the bishop doth first ordain him to be a deacon; and in that office he makes trial of his gifts for preaching, and so continues until he be admitted to a benefice, and upon such admission he is made a priest.

Wh. That is according to the canon law, that none be made a priest *sine titulo* before a benefice be provided for him; but how are they presented to such promotions?

Abp. When any priest of a parish is dead or removed, so that the parish is destitute of a minister, the parishioners meet together and agree upon the names of three deacons, whom they present to the bishop; and out of them he chooseth one to be the priest of that parish, and ordains him a presbyter, and puts him in possession of the living.

Wh. That is a good way to satisfy the people who are to pay the duties to the ministers.

Abp. And care is taken to put in none but worthy and able men into the livings.

Wh. Being so good care is taken to place fit and worthy ministers in the parishes, I marvel they do not better instruct the people to live more soberly and orderly than many of them do, and not to profane the Lord's Day, as too many here do.

Abp. The ministers are not wanting to exhort and admonish the people; but in these countries the custom of too excessive drinking hath taken too deep root; and for observation of the Sunday, there is due care taken.

Wh. I have been much grieved to see here so little observation of that day, or rather so great a profanation of it: the shops are kept open, fairs and markets held, buying and selling of commodities, carriages, labours, and performing the ordinary works of their calling upon that day as upon any other; nay, sometimes even to disorder and debauchery in the open streets upon the Lord's Day. Surely God is offended at such things, and will not let them pass unpunished, and your Grace is more especially concerned than any other to endeavour a reformation thereof.

Abp. No such works nor recreations are permitted

here but *post sacra peracta*, after divine service ended, and then they may be the better tolerated.

Wh. Certainly a part of that day was not set aside, but the whole day was set apart for the special service and worship of God ; and we are to abstain the whole day from the works of our calling, else we hardly shall be accounted to keep it holy.

Abp. We observe the Sunday here in the same manner as we do the other holidays.

Wh. You make a difference between the holidays which were instituted in the memory of some particular saints, and the Lord's Day, which was dedicated to our Lord Christ, and instituted in memory of his resurrection.

Abp. They are by human institution to be kept holy ; and our Saviour saith, it is lawful on the Sabbath-day to help one's ox or ass out of the ditch ; and to dress meat upon that day is also lawful.

Wh. Works of charity and necessity may be performed on that day, but not works of men's ordinary callings, the day being sanctified and set apart for God's worship.

Abp. I do confess that there is too much negligence among us as to the observation of that day ; and in the Convocation of the Clergy in this country there was a learned debate touching this matter ; and it was the opinion of many there (of whom I was one) that the other holidays are not to be ranked in equal honour and observation with the Sunday, and the difference of the institution of the one and of the other was noted ; but all agreed in this determination of what was then fittest to be done, that, for fear of tumults and insurrections by the rude people, it was not safe to make a

sudden change in that which had been by so long custom and continuance confirmed, and whereunto the people generally had so much fondness.

February 8, 1653.

An audience was desired by Whitelocke from the Queen, and at the same time she sent Grave Tott to Whitelocke to invite him to the audience of the Muscovia Envoy. The Grave staid dinner with Whitelocke, and after that Whitelocke went to the lodging of Piementelle, to rest himself there till the time of the audience; whither Grave Tott brought him word that the audience was put off, because the Russ had sent word that, the notice of his audience not being given him till about ten o'clock this morning, he had before that time drunk so much *aqua-vitæ* that he was already drunk, and not in a condition to have his audience that day, but desired it might be appointed another day, and he to have earlier notice of it.

Intended reception of the Muscovite Envoy, who was drunk.

Whitelocke spake with the Queen touching his treaty, and after that showed her a letter which he had prepared to send to the Chancellor, to quicken him in the treaty; but said he would not send it if anything therein were displeasing to her Majesty. The Queen read it. The English copy signed by Whitelocke was thus:—

“To his Excellence the Great Chancellor of the Kingdom of Sweden.

“My Lord,

“My attendance in this place having been above seven weeks upon my negotiation, which her Majesty was pleased to refer unto your Excellence, and the answer to my proposals not being yet made known to me, nor oppor-

Whitelocke appeals to the Chancellor to proceed with the Treaty.

tunity given of meeting your Excellence in fourteen days last past, I being uncertain how soon my return may be commanded, therefore and in discharge of my duty to my Lord the Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and for the better expediting of those affairs wherewith his Highness hath entrusted me, and that I may not appear negligent therein, I held it requisite to desire your Excellence that an answer may be given to the propositions by me presented, and in such time as may not be inconvenient to other great affairs, nor to this particular, wherein the honour and good of both nations is concerned.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.

“ *Upsal, Feb. 8, 1653.*”

The Queen commended the letter, and said she thought it would be to good purpose to send it, only she excepted against a clause in it, that Whitelocke will be ready to meet the Chancellor when he pleaseth, which, the Queen said, was too low for the Ambassador to write to the Chancellor; wherenpon Whitelocke mended that part, and sent the letter as above recited: to which the Chancellor returned answer by Whitelocke's servant that presented it, that he had been very busy about the Queen's affairs, and that he would give a meeting to Whitelocke the next day but one.

The Queen read some English with Whitelocke, and took pains to learn. When Whitelocke took his leave, she invited him to come again in the evening to hear her music.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the Chancellor to excuse his not having met with him in many days, and to appoint the same time as had been intimated before by Whitelocke's servant.

An evening
at Court.

In the evening Whitelocke went again to Court, as the Queen had invited him, and was brought into her

bedchamber, and divers of his gentlemen admitted in likewise to hear her Majesty's music, which was very rare, and performed by divers Italian eunuchs and others, her servants, and by Madame De la Bar, a Frenchwoman, and her brother, who sang rarely well.

Besides Whitelocke, there was in the chamber Piementelle, the Count de Montecuculi, and another Italian Count and many of her Court. The Queen was in a very good humour, and taking Whitelocke by the hand she led him to a lady in the room whom they called La Belle Comtesse (the fair Countess), the wife of Grave Jacob de la Gardie. The Queen said to Whitelocke, "Discourse with this lady, my bedfellow, and tell me if her inside be not as beautiful as her outside." Whitelocke, discoursing with her, found it so, and great modesty, virtue, and wit accompanying her excellent beauty and behaviour. The Queen pulled off the Countess's gloves, and gave one of them to Whitelocke for a favour; the other she tore in four pieces, and distributed them to Piementelle, the Italians, and to Grave Tott. In recompense of the glove Whitelocke sent to the "belle Comtesse" a dozen pair of English white gloves, which are in much esteem in this country. The Italian Count de Montecuculi saluted Whitelocke with great civility, and he returned the like respects again.

February 9, 1653.

The Queen sent one of her servants to Whitelocke, to give him notice of the audience of the Muscovia Envoy. Whitelocke went to Court at the time, and there fell out a little bustle, the Ricks-Admiral stepping

Reception
of the Mus-
covite Am-
bassador.

betwixt the Queen and Whitelocke to take his place there, was by Whitelocke put aside, and Whitelocke stood next to the Queen on her right hand. She perceiving the passage smiled, and asked Whitelocke how he durst affront so great an officer in her Court and sight? Whitelocke answered, because that officer first affronted the Ambassador of the great Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Queen replied, "You do well to make them know themselves and you the better."

The audience was in this manner:—First, there presented himself a tall, big man, with a large, rude, black beard, pale countenance, and ill demeanour. His habit was a long robe of purple cloth, laced with a small gold lace, the livery of his master. On his right-hand was a companion in the same livery, and much like the Envoy in feature and behaviour; he carried on high the great Duke's letters set in a frame of wood, with a covering of crimson sarsenet over them. On the left-hand of the Envoy was his interpreter. After his uncouth reverences made, he spake to the Queen in his own language. The greatest part of his harangue in the beginning might be understood to be nothing but his master's titles. In the midst of his speech he was quite out, but after a little pause recovered himself again with the assistance of a paper. When he had done, one of the Queen's servants interpreted in Swedish what was said; then one of the Queen's secretaries answered in Swedish to what the Envoy had spoken, and that was interpreted to him in his own language by his own interpreter. After this the Envoy cast himself flat upon his face on the floor, and seemed to kiss it; then rising up again, he went and kissed

the Queen's hand, holding his own hands behind him. In the same order his fellow demeaned himself, and presented to the Queen his master's letters.

The Queen gave the letter to Whitelocke to look on it: it was sealed with an eagle; the characters were like the Greek letters, and some like the Persic. After the ceremony ended, the Russes returned to their *aqua-vitæ*, and Whitelocke to his lodging to dinner.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke being invited by the Queen to accompany her to take the air on horseback, he waited on her, and had much discourse with her about his business. She was mounted upon one of the horses which Whitelocke gave her, and had pistol at her saddle-bow; she much commended the horse and thanked Whitelocke for him, and said she never rode so good a horse before.

At their return to the castle they fell to trying of arms. The Queen's pistols and Whitelocke's pistols were compared together for the workmanship, and both tried by the Queen herself discharging them, and by Whitelocke and others; but he being lame, and weary with standing, stole home to his lodging.

February 10, 1653.

The Chancellor came to Whitelocke's house, and they were together above four hours. The sum of the Chancellor's discourse was to this effect:—

Conference
with the
Chancellor.

He made a very large apology for his long absence from Whitelocke, saying that he was employed in a very great business by the Queen's command, which had taken up very much of his time; and did confess ingenuously that he desired first to know what

would be the event of the treaty between England and Holland before he proceeded further with Whitelocke in the treaty here, because the issue of that treaty in England would necessarily beget an alteration in those things which did concern the treaty here. That it was yet doubtful whether the treaty in England would take effect and be confirmed or not ; that if England and Holland should make a league between them, then as the articles here are propounded, if they should be so agreed between Sweden and England, Sweden should thereby incur the hatred of the Hollanders, and they would study revenge against Sweden ; but if the peace should not be made betwixt England and Holland, then there would not be so much danger. That many letters did affirm that the King of Denmark was included in the same articles of confederation with the Hollanders, who had undertaken in favour of the Danes that satisfaction should be given to the English for the wrongs by them sustained ; which, if it should be true, then probably, by force of the articles with Holland, the English will have liberty to exercise free navigation through the Sound, and then there will not be so much need of consent to the first and fifth articles of the treaty here ; which if they should be consented unto beforehand, it would breed an occasion of hatred and enmity on the part of the Swedes towards the Danes, to be professed by the Swedes as if it were a detriment to the kingdom of Sweden for the Danes to be included in the articles of pacification between England and Holland. That there are many things besides in the articles here which concern navigation and transportation of commodities from country to country, whereof there will be no use if the

peace between England and Holland be concluded; and if the war should be continued, then a particular care is to be had more than otherwise. Out of all which he concluded, that it was necessary, before the business here should be finished, to understand what issue and event that treaty would have in England; the desire of knowing the truth and certainty whereof was the cause that hitherto he had not given a meeting unto Whitelocke; and that having taken the best consideration he could upon the articles here under judgement, he should be the better able to give Whitelocke satisfaction thereupon.

He expressed a great respect to the Commonwealth of England, and the desirableness of an alliance with them, but that the manner of the making thereof would much depend upon the issue of that treaty in England; that the present war between the two Commonwealths, by further delay, might involve Sweden, if they should consent to Whitelocke's proposals, when at present they were free from war and enjoyed a full peace.

Then the Chancellor fell into a very large discourse of all the affairs between Sweden and Denmark, and in Russia, Poland, and Germany. He spake much also of the several ports of Wismar, Stettin, Riga, Narva, and others in the Baltic Sea, and of the several commodities in them whereof England had use; that the Swedes more desired trade with the English than any other nation; and professed that he should never be wanting to testify his respects to that Commonwealth.

To that which Whitelocke demanded of him, whether peace or war between the two Commonwealths

would most please them and conduce to their affairs, he said that, as a Christian and a friend to mankind, he wished peace to all the world, and especially between the two Commonwealths; and that he wished the same, as he was a Minister of State, because he believed that then there would be a free navigation through the Sound, which would be to the great benefit of Sweden, and whereby their trade would be increased, and their commodities and merchants have the more safe and free passage, which now, by reason of the differences of those Commonwealths, were very much disturbed and endamaged; that a small matter did sometimes turn the die of war, and therefore he judged it the part of prudent men to embrace peace when it could be obtained.

The sum of Whitelocke's answer to this long speech of the Chancellor was to this purpose:—

He thanked the Chancellor for his candid and clear dealing with him in this business, whereby he testified that honour and ingenuity which was in him; that he knew the affairs wherein the Chancellor was employed were many and the greatest, and his the best hand that the Queen could put them into.

That he was sorry it could not yet be known what would be the event of the treaty in England, nor could he tell how long a time it might be before the same could be known, nor in how short a time it might please the Protector to command his return home, which were the reasons why he was so desirous to obtain an answer to his propositions.

That in the matters proposed by him was no mention of the Hollanders, and although at that time they were in war against England, yet that caused then

no objections against this treaty; and it was hard for him to find out a reason that the objections should be raised upon a treaty of peace with the Dutch, which were not at first, when it was known they were in war with England. That if peace be made between the two Commonwealths, there may possibly be some labour saved thereby in the drawing up of the treaty here. That this to him was no great occasion of altering his proposals; nor did he know any extraordinary cause for an alteration on the Swedes' part upon that occasion, but they were the judges thereof. And if the war should be continued with Holland, then the matter will be the same as when the proposals were here first received; and the making of a peace with Holland cannot make these articles the less grateful here, or occasion any alteration in them, or ill-will between this Crown and Holland, which is not named in the articles; neither could he see that, by them, between Sweden and Denmark an enmity was like to be contracted, whereof he thought there was enough already.

That as to the article touching prohibited goods, if the war continue, particular agreements thereupon are referred to a future consideration; and if the peace be made, then that labour will be saved: and whether the English have war or peace with Holland, he thought their friendship and alliance worthy the Swedes' acceptance; and that by their present war no dishonour had befallen England, but their power at sea, through God's blessing, had appeared not to be inconsiderable, and therefore their alliance not to be undesirable.

That Sweden had many potent envious neighbours,

as by what the Chancellor had related of Denmark, Muscovy, Poland, and Germany, did appear ; for which relations Whitelocke thanked him, and held them all to be arguments for an alliance with England.

As to the commodities of the ports of this town, he said that Mr. Lagerfeldt, in his negotiation in England, had offered them to be had at Gothenburg, in case the navigation were not free through the Sound ; and as those were necessary for England (which they also could have in their dominions in the Indies), so the more liberty of fetching them would be the more for the commodity of the Queen and her subjects. That the Chancellor had now and all times expressed himself a pious Christian and wise statesman in his wishes of peace, to have which Whitelocke knew to be the desire of his superiors.

The sum of all he could get from the Chancellor was, that, before a proceeding in the treaty here, it was resolved to know what would be the event of that in England.

February 11, 1653.

A Lap-
lander and
his rein-
deer.

Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern visited Whitelocke, who thanked him for the deer and great oysters which he had sent to him the day before, and which were a great rarity in these parts, most of them brought hither out of Holland. The Grave caused to be brought to Whitelocke's house a Laplander, and his sledge drawn by a reindeer, whereof the Laplander had two very tame.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke while the Laplander and his wife were with him. The man (if he may be

so termed) is of a short stature, thick and strong made ; his face and countenance very unlike to other men ; a broad face, a high forehead, a great head, staring eyes, long nose, a very wide mouth, and swelled lips ; his language not understood by the Swedes, more than the Irish is by the English ; his fashion very rude ; his habit of beasts' skins with the hair outward, jacket, breeches, and stockings of the same. When he danced, which he was apt to do, it was in a strange uncouth posture ; and his singing was little different from howling. His wife was a fit match for him in respect of person, feature, and behaviour.

The reindeer which they commanded are of a whitish colour, bigger than our fallow-deer, little less than our red-deer ; their heads more like our stags than bucks ; their joints and limbs are very strong and thick, like their governors', and they are as tame as any dogs. They have an incredible swiftness in their running, insomuch as it is confidently affirmed that one of them will draw a sledge with a man in it a hundred miles in a day ; nay, they do not stay here, but report that if one have an extraordinary occasion to be three hundred miles from the place where he is, if he take a sledge and a reindeer, and wrapping himself with furs, lie down to sleep in the sledge, having first whispered the reindeer in the ear whither he would go, that in twelve hours the deer will bring him to the place appointed, though it be two or three hundred miles from the place where he first took the sledge. But this is confessed to be done by the power of witchcraft, and it is better to hear them relate it than to make any trial of it.

After they had seen a course with the Laplander

Pistol-
shooting at
Court.

in his sledge with his reindeer, Piementelle invited Whitelocke to go to the castle, to see shooting at the white with arquebusses and pistols. They went together in Piementelle's coach, which was of such a fashion that one might make a bed of the whole coach, or place a table in it, and under one seat might put meat and under the other bottles; both sides of the coach were close, with glass windows to open or shut as they pleased.

Being come to the castle, they saw the Queen discharge two or three pistols out of the window; and many gentlemen and officers of the army were there shooting at the white, which is a great recreation with them. When Whitelocke was waiting on the Queen at her sports and recreations, and taking the air, she would sometimes speak a little to him by the way, touching the treaty; but he never would at those times put her upon it to interrupt her diversions, but answer her questions only. When they were shooting at the White she spake to him thus:—

Queen. Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, what discourse had you yesterday with my Chancellor about the treaty?

Whitelocke. Madam, we had a very large conference together about it; but he seems desirous to know what will be the issue of the Dutch treaty in England before any further proceedings in my business here.

Qu. I think it a very reasonable thing, and I believe you do so too.

Wh. I cannot deny but in some respects it may be reasonable, but I desire greatly the conclusion of my business, and do hope that when the slow pace of our fat neighbours will permit their treaty with England

to come to a conclusion, that your Majesty will not be long in resolving about my business here.

Qu. I promise you, that after the certainty shall be known of the Dutch treaty with you in England, you shall receive my answer in a short time; wherein I will deal very freely with you, and tell you without difficulty what I can consent unto and what I cannot, and my reasons for it.

Wh. I desire no better assurance of my despatch than the word of a Queen who deals so like a Queen with me; and I shall engage myself to deal like a gentleman.

Qu. I have found no other but honourable dealing from you. The reason why my Chancellor hath not given an answer in writing to your propositions is because I did not approve of that which he had prepared and showed to me, but ordered him to make a new project.

Upon invitation from the Queen, Whitelocke was at the castle late in the evening to hear the Queen's music, which was so excellent, and the Queen in so good a humour, that Whitelocke staid there many hours in the night in much pleasure. Her Majesty would often come to Whitelocke and discourse with him of her music, whereof he was able to make some judgement, which the Queen found and liked well; but Whitelocke would not interrupt her delight with one word of serious matters unless her Majesty first propounded them unto him.

February 12, 1653.

The Queen had much commended Whitelocke's eldest son for a handsome, well-fashioned young gen-

tleman ; and being told that he had not been well, so great was her favour and civility, that she sent this morning one of her servants to Whitelocke's house to inquire of his son's health.

Drinking of
healths on
the Lord's
Day in
Sweden.

After Whitelocke had celebrated this Lord's Day in the usual manner, and had heard two good sermons preached by his chaplains in his house, there was in the evening a great noise and disorder in the street before his house, trumpets sounding and drums beating, with shoutings and a great tumult of all sorts of people ; whereat looking and sending forth, they found the business to be that a great company of gentlemen and officers of the army and others, among whom was Major-General Horne and other great men, came into the open market-place, marching thither through the streets, with drums beating and trumpets sounding before them, and servants carrying flagons of wine and glasses after them. In this posture (not for divine service or worship) they came into the market-place, where they made a great ring, placed their servants with the flagons, bottles, and glasses, in the midst of the ring, and themselves kneeling down round about. There they drank healths to the Queen a long time together, drums and trumpets and roaring at every drinking of the health, proclaiming this astonishing impudence of sinning to the face of God with a high hand ;—a debauchery not to be practised at any time, much less in so horrible a wickedness and profanation of His day, who is able and will punish such detestable iniquities and flagitious crimes. Instead of the service and worship of God on this day, they thus betook themselves to the worship and service of the devil. After they had done thus in the market-place,

which some imagined was purposely as a scorn to Whitelocke, they returned again reeling to other streets, doing the same wickedness there also ; but Whitelocke took no notice of it, but pitied their condition, and was grieved for them.

February 13, 1653. ,

The Queen sent to Whitelocke to bear her company to take the air on horseback, which he did ; and by the way she had some little touches with him about his treaty. At their return to the castle, she entertained Piementelle, Montecuculi, and Whitelocke with pleasant discourse two hours together. She spake of most noted authors who had written in the Italian, French, Latin, Greek, and other languages ; and before all the rest she commended Petronius. Whitelocke asked her if she had seen a book lately written in Latin* by one Milton, an Englishman, and how she liked his style ; she highly commended the matter of part of it, and the language. Then she fell into the praise of Germanicus and several other worthies, Greeks and Romans, and showed her great knowledge in history and in the sciences.

One informed Whitelocke, as a great secret, that the Queen intended to quit the Crown, and said that she had proposed it to her Council of Senators, and that she purposed to retire herself unto a private life ; that the senators were much troubled at it, and sought to dissuade Her Majesty from any such intention ; but that she continued very resolute in her purpose,

The Queen's
conversa-
tion.

The
Queen's
intended
abdication
begins to
transpire.

* [Doubtless the ' *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*' before alluded to : a singular volume for a crowned head to commend.]

and sought for a seasonable time and opportunity to effect it.

Sir George Fletewood, an English gentleman, visited and performed many civilities and kindnesses to Whitelocke. He came into this country many years past, with some of his countrymen, to serve the King Gustavus Adolphus, from whom he had great favour, and was made a colonel, and afterwards governor of a town, and a major-general. He married an heir in this country, by whom he had several children, and a fair estate, and was now settled here, and well beloved at Court and in the army, and in the country, as if he had been a native of it. He is a gentleman of a good family and of much honour and integrity, and of particular friendliness to Whitelocke, with whom he was often here, and did very good offices for Whitelocke, and informed him of many material and useful matters: he also had the news of the Queen's design to quit the Crown, and was one of the first without-doors that acquainted Whitelocke with that news.

February 14, 1653.

Whitelocke
receives the
Imperial
Envoy.

Intimation having been given to Whitelocke that the Count de Montecuculi, and another Italian Count with him, had a great desire to see the fashions of England in the English Ambassador's house, Whitelocke entertained them, with Piementelle, who brought them to dinner to him; and they seemed not a little pleased with his music and with the treatment that Whitelocke gave them, which they termed high and noble, and were very respectful to Whitelocke, both before and especially after it.

This Montecuculi was General of the Horse to the Emperor, and one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. He came hither from the Emperor's Court to visit the Queen; others said he came to solicit a marriage between the Queen and his master's son, the King of the Romans. The Queen used him with great civility and testimonies of favour, whereof he is deserving, being a gentleman of much honour and very ingenious in his discourse, and of a gallant carriage.

They had discourse of all the present transactions and great affairs of Europe; and amongst the rest they said that all the world talked of the Queen's design to abdicate herself, to quit the crown and government, and retire to a private life; and Piementelle said he believed that the mind of the Queen was much set that way. Whitelocke asked if they had heard of any discontent between her and her people or great men; or what should cause her to take such a resolution, so destructive to her good and power. They answered, that no prince in the world had the people, great men, and officers, in more entire obedience and affection than the Queen had all her subjects of every degree (whereof Whitelocke was also an eye-witness), and that it was only her desire of retirement which brought her unto this resolution.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and was full of the same discourse, and said, if the Queen should do it, it would be a cause of great sadness to all her people; that the Queen, about two years since, had proposed this to the Senate, of whom some dissuaded her against it, affirming that she could not resign the Crown without the consent of those that entrusted her, and for whose sake she had undertaken the go-

vernment, and said that they never would consent to her abdication; that notwithstanding this, yet now again she proposed the same thing to the Senate, who were at present in consultation about this high point, and it was much debated.

Whitelocke took no notice to any that he had ever heard of it but by these discourses, nor discovered to any what had passed between the Queen and him about it.

Two Valets-de-la-Chambre (pages of the Queen's chamber) came to visit Whitelocke, and to take their leaves of him, being upon their departure for France, and from thence to go to England; and they came to the Ambassador to know what service he would command them thither; and in regard they had been very civil and officious to Whitelocke, and had often come to him with messages from the Queen, and being informed that it was the custom of this Court to bestow gratuities upon such persons, and that it would be made known to the Queen, and well taken by her,—upon these considerations, and to compliment the Queen in this small business, Whitelocke gave to each of these gentlemen a diamond ring of the value of forty rix-dollars apiece, as a testimony of his gratitude for the respects and good offices which they had done him in this Court, and to the Queen their mistress, in whose favour they were; and the gentlemen most thankfully accepted their present, and extolled the nobleness of the English Ambassador to their fellow-courtiers, and to the Queen herself, who took great notice of it.

February 15, 1653.

The Syndic of Gothenburg made a great complaint to Whitelocke on behalf of divers of that city interested in a ship brought by the English capers into Dover; and that the mariners were pillaged and imprisoned, though the ship and goods and men were all Swedish. Whitelocke demanded of him what ground he had for this complaint. He said he had received letters of it from Gothenburg, who had received letters of it out of England, written by a master of a Swedish ship, who informed them of it. Whitelocke asked him if the master of the ship were not a Hollander, and what goods were in the ship thus taken? He answered that the master was a native of Holland, but now an inhabitant of Gothenburg, and a subject of the Queen of Sweden; and that the lading of the ship was masts and pitch and tar, for Portugal; and he entreated Whitelocke to write into England in favour of these parties, and that justice might be done for them. Whitelocke desired of him a memoir in writing hereof, and said he did not believe that any such thing was done in England, who did justice to all the world; that this might be a matter controverted; yet, if it were as the Syndic informed, he did believe that justice would be done and satisfaction made to the parties interested; and he promised to write effectually to England for that purpose.

Claim on
behalf of
Swedish
ships.

Whitelocke visited Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern, and from thence went and visited the Senator Rosenhau, who had been Ambassador Extraordinary from this Crown to Poland and also to France. He lived in a

very handsome condition, being enabled thereunto by the custom of this country, which is so favourable to those who have hazarded themselves in public and foreign services, that he who hath once been an ambassador keeps not only the title and privileges belonging to that quality, but hath likewise a pension or other provision allowed him for his maintenance in that condition during his life ; and so Whitelocke was informed that it was with this gentleman they had much discourse concerning those places and affairs about which he had been employed ; and he seemed to be a man of able parts, but somewhat high and negligent in his demeanour.

Then Whitelocke visited the French Resident, who, after his manner, made large profession of his great respect to the Commonwealth of England and to my Lord Protector, which was now as much credited by Whitelocke as at other times.

February 16, 1653.

A ball
given to the
Imperial
Envoy,

The Queen sent the master of the ceremonies to Whitelocke to invite him this evening to a ball at Court, which was ordained in favour of the Count de Montecuculi. Whitelocke, being ready to entertain all opportunities of waiting on the Queen, came to the room appointed, where two seats were placed on the right-hand of the chair of state, the first for Whitelocke and the next for Montecuculi.

By this means Whitelocke had the opportunity that the Queen would discourse with him at this time. She was pleased to mention to him the ship brought into Dover, whereof the Syndic of Gothen-

burg complained, and the imprisonment of the mariners, which the Queen said was no friendly dealing. Whitelocke answered that he could not believe this report, but supposed there was some mistake or misinformation in it; that her subjects seldom came to Dover; that if any of them were brought thither by capers they would have justice done them in England; he said also that he understood some great lords in this kingdom had shares in that ship, and made complaints, as they were informed; that he had heard that the master of that ship was a Hollander, and her lading of contraband goods, whereupon she might be taken by a caper. But if it should be made appear that the ship belonged to her Majesty's subjects, and had done nothing contrary to the known rules of state of the Council of England, he did not doubt but that she would be freed, and that this week he would write to the Commonwealth in England very effectually about this matter; which the Queen desired him to do, and said, that if such things were practised it would be impossible to agree so well upon a peace between the two nations. By many of these passages, which were blown up by the Dutch, Danes, and French in this Court, Whitelocke was put to many difficulties; but God brought him over all of them in the conclusion.

At this ball there was rare music, and excellent dancing by the Queen herself and by her ladies and courtiers; in the latter end whereof the Queen called for Montecuculi to come to her, where she invested him with the order of knighthood of Amaranta, which ceremony was thus performed. The Count, kneeling down before the Queen, held up his hands between

who is invested with the order of Amaranta.

the Queen's hands; she declared his duty in that order, to maintain and defend virtue and the honour of virtuous ladies, to endeavour to correct vice, to perform honourable actions, to keep his faith inviolable, with divers the like matters relating to honour and virtuous performances, which the Count promised to observe. Then the Queen put upon his right shoulder, and tied under his left arm, a scarf of crimson taffeta with a broad silver fringe, and the jewel of the order hung in the scarf, which was about the compass of half-a-crown; it was made of gold, a round wreath wrought and enamelled like to laurel, and in the midst thereof two great As reversed, set thick with diamonds, the two As for the first and last letters of Amaranta; and about the wreath was written in Italian "*Dulce nella memoria*" (sweet in the memory), that is, of a certain noble and famous great lady named Amaranta, who was an eminent pattern and example of the highest honour and virtue, in memory of whom this Order was instituted.

The Queen herself is sovereign of the Order; the companions of it made by her were the Prince Palatine and his brother Prince Adolphus, the King of Poland, the Duke of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Spanish Resident, the Count de Montecuculi, and divers others great lords, and afterwards Whitelocke was honoured also by the Queen to be made a knight of this order.* Her Majesty wears

[* It is remarkable that Whitelocke, who never omits a circumstance tending to his personal honour or vanity, makes no further allusion to his knighthood, and does not state how or when he was invested with the Order. It would seem either that the Order was not recognized by the English College of Arms, or that he never received permission to bear it.]

the jewel of the Order under her left breast, tied with crimson ribbon ; and the knights wear it in a crimson scarf or ribbon, and sometimes in a chain of gold, as they themselves please.

February 17, 1653.

Thurloe's letters to Whitelocke, this post, contained the probability of an agreement with the Dutch, the gallant English fleet already on the sea, the beating of the Scots and Highlanders, the approbation and general satisfaction by the late change in England, and the application of all foreign ministers to the Protector, and congratulating of him ; only Bonnele had omitted it. He sent him also the French and Spanish news, and a full and perfect history of that time ; enclosed copies of the letters of the Dutch Resident from hence to his superiors, which by money Thurloe procured ; and in them was some reflection upon Whitelocke, which, in his answer to Thurloe's letters, he thus vindicated :—

“ Beningen* is much mistaken in his information to his superiors concerning me, and his expressions are hardly civil. I have been wary of my discourse and said nothing but what is truth, though he is pleased to call it false ; and I believe, as it is, it hath the reputation of truth here. What my speech was to the Queen, you see by the words of it, and that there are no such things as he reports to be found there. Many heard me, though I thought not fit to speak in that presence so loud as men do in a theatre or at a bar of justice ; that those heard me to whom it was

Despatches
from Eng-
land.

Whitelocke
justifies his
own con-
duct.

[* The Dutch Resident at Upsal, who made injurious reports on Whitelocke, and exerted himself to defeat the object of his mission, the two Republics being then at war.]

directed appears by the answer to it. All here say that my reception was with more respect than hath been showed to any ambassador before, and many gentlemen were seen then on horseback, though Beningen reports not one. For the discontent of the Ricks-Senators, I confess my neglect of them was purposely done by me, because I observed a neglect in them first towards me in point of ceremony; whereof I judged myself bound to take notice, and not to lessen the honour of my nation: this, with my refusal of healths, might possibly bring me to more disfavour with them.

“He is likewise mistaken about my sending to the French Resident, and inquiry of the Denmark Ambassador as he useth to be. It is true that there have been some passages of ceremony which I thought my duty to insist upon, as the not giving precedence to the Ricks-Admiral here, and to sit next the Queen, and the like, which are now rectified by the Queen’s command, who was acquainted herewith by the Spanish Resident, to whom I discoursed it to that end. And I may presume that if I should have sat down cheaply in any small neglect, greater might perhaps have been put upon me, and the honour of my nation have suffered in me, and both my business and myself have been the less regarded.”

Whitelocke was not well in health, and very busy in his despatches to England, yet was interrupted therein by a visit by Grave Eric Oxenstiern, President of the Council of Trade, who came in their name to Whitelocke to inform him of the ship mentioned before to be carried into Dover; and by the Queen’s command Grave Eric showed Whitelocke the letters from Bonnele, and from the masters of three Swedish ships lately brought into England, two of them by private men-of-war, and the others by a ship of the States; that some of the mariners were im-

Claim on
behalf of
Swedish
ship at
Dover.

prisoned and very ill treated, and that this was in the Channel when they were past the way to Holland; that they had certificates, as the truth was, that they were Swedish ships and goods, and the men the Queen's subjects; that nevertheless they were thus used, which, he said, gave small hopes of that amity between the two nations, and the redress of those injuries which was hoped for upon Whitelocke's coming hither as Ambassador.

Whitelocke desired him to suspend his judgement till the certainty of the fact, and the proceedings thereupon, might appear; that he knew the Queen's subjects would receive right and offices of friendship at the hands of the Protector; and if any private man-of-war had injured any of the Swedes, that justice would be done upon them; and if any ships were taken contrary to right, they would be released; but if any of the Queen's subjects did seek to colour and protect the enemy's ships and goods, that would give little hopes of amity, and they might justly suffer for it.

The Grave was very high and passionate in his expressions, which Whitelocke sought to moderate, but with a vindication of the justice of England. The conclusion was, to pray Whitelocke to write effectually to England about it; which he did, and desired Thurloe's special care therein, being a great trouble to him that such things should be done to Swedes whilst he was in Sweden, and thereby his business be retarded and himself disabled in their service.

One of the Queen's servants brought from the Queen to Whitelocke's house two men and two women of Lapland, such as are before described, and

The Queen sends a present of reindeer to Whitelocke.

they had with them twenty-five reindeer, which the Queen sent to Whitelocke for a present, and, as he supposed, to the end that he should send them to the Protector. Whitelocke took the best care he could for the keeping of these deer; he gave money to the Lapps for their pains in bringing them, and by advice of the Queen's servant that came with them, he caused the deer to be driven to a farm not far from Upsal, and gave money for their keeping with hay and straw, but the deer hardly would eat such meat. Whitelocke desired the Queen's servant, who spake the Lapp language and the French also, to ask the Lapps what meat the deer must be fed withal. They said, with moss and with the tops of fir-boughs, and that this was their food in Lapland all the winter-time. Whitelocke caused them to be asked if they would undertake to carry the deer into England, and he would provide a ship for them to go thither with the deer, and to bring them and their wives back again, and would give them fifty rix-dollars apiece for their voyage. But they all howled, and earnestly said they would not go. Whitelocke caused many arguments to be used to persuade them to go,—how kindly they should be used, what a brave country and people and cities they should see, and have their charges borne, and return home rich; but all would not move them to depart out of their beloved country. And when they could not be prevailed with (so great is native love!) Whitelocke contracted with them to take the charge of his deer here until he could send them into England, to which they agreed. But one night, the deer being all together in an open hovel not far from the side of a great wood, there came out from

the wood a herd of many fierce wolves, who, finding out the deer, fell upon them, and in one night killed fifteen of them; the rest of the deer, not long after, all died, as their keepers said, because the climate was too hot for them. And so Whitelocke was disappointed of sending his rare present to England, where the deer would hardly have lived, when Sweden was too hot for them.

February 18, 1653.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and they communicated their intelligence. He showed Whitelocke the letter which Beningen had written from hence to his superiors (whereof Whitelocke also had a copy, and is before remembered). Whitelocke told Piementelle that the language of Beningen was scarce civil, and very untrue. Piementelle replied that that was the mode of Holland to have such uncivil expressions, and that Beningen was no gentleman, nor did know what belonged to matter of honour. Whitelocke said, that as Beningen and the Resident of France did concentrate together against England and Spain, so it was prudent for Piementelle and him to assist one another in order for the better carrying on of both their affairs; which Piementelle said was very reasonable, and he would most willingly do it, and believed that they two should make a party strong enough against those gentlemen.

In the afternoon Whitelocke went to the castle to wait on the Queen. No person was in the antechamber but Sir William Ballendin, who, seeing Whitelocke, went in to the Queen, being her servant, and returning would neither look on Whitelocke nor speak to him, but said to Whitelocke's eldest son standing by, "He

The Envoys of Spain and England combine against those of France and Holland.

Whitelocke insulted by a Scotch Royalist in the Queen's service.

may go in to the Queen if he will." The young man made no answer nor told his father of it, who, although he imagined what the business was, yet forbore to take any notice of it, since Ballendin thought him unworthy to be spoken to. Then Ballendin spake the same words as he had done to the son, to one of Whitelocke's followers that knew him not, and therefore told Whitelocke what was said to him, who thereupon thought it better to go to the Queen than to make her stay longer for him, and so followed Ballendin; and Mr. Stapleton, fearing lest some mischief might be done to Whitelocke in the passage, went after him, entering into the Queen's chamber. Ballendin held up the hanging, and just as Whitelocke entered let it fall in his face, as he believed, purposely, whereof the Queen taking notice, reproved Ballendin for it; in whose hearing Whitelocke told the Queen that he believed that gentleman had no mind to do him a favour, and asked the Queen's pardon that he came into her bedchamber without being sent for. The Queen said, "I sent Ballendin: did not he come and tell you?" Whitelocke replied, "He did not think me worthy to be spoken to, but told one of my followers that I might come in." At which the Queen seemed very angry, and said, "Ballendin is a sot and a fool."

Interview
with the
Queen.

Whitelocke gave her Majesty thanks for the noble present of reindeer which she was pleased to bestow on him, which he told her he purposed to send to the Protector; but she answered that they were not worth the sending. Whitelocke then told her Majesty that he must take his leave of her and return for England. She asked him why he spake so. He replied, that it

was the common report that her Majesty had proposed to her Council to quit the crown, and then what should he do here? They had much discourse together upon that subject, and the Queen seemed resolute in this design; but told Whitelocke that whatsoever she should determine in that point, yet she would despatch his business, and that therefore he needed not to go away till that were done, and she hoped it would be to his contentment. She told Whitelocke that she intended to go out of town the next week to meet the Prince of Sweden, and would speak with him about Whitelocke's business. Whitelocke communicated to her his news of Scotland, of the English fleet at sea, of the Dutch treaty, and other news; but staid not long with her, because she was not well.

From the castle Whitelocke went to Woolfeldt, who discoursed about the Queen's resignation, and said he believed she was strongly inclined to it. Whitelocke objected the uncertainty of her revenue if she resigned, that her successors might not have due care to see it paid. He said she would provide for that beforehand, and have it in her own power, which Whitelocke had advised her to. He said that he believed the revenues of this crown were much lessened, and he doubted whether they would suffice for her entertainment and for the expenses of her successors also. Woolfeldt answered, that this was the great objection which troubled the Council, to find out a way how the Queen might be supplied, and at the same time to defray the charges of the armies and navy and of the Court, and other public charges; and that it would require much time before these things were brought to a conclusion.

February 19, 1653.

A funeral
ceremony.

This Lord's Day, Sir George Fletewood, Colonel Hamilton, Mr. Butler, and Mr. Cooper, English and Scots men, came in the morning to Whitlocke's house to hear the sermon there; and after dinner the master of the ceremonies came to inform Whitlocke of the funeral of a Swedish gentleman named Monsieur Pos, of an ancient family, who died young and a bachelor. The solemnity came by Whitlocke's door, and was in this order:—First came the singing boys and men of the church, singing requiem as they went; after them came a man on horseback, the horse richly covered with caparisons embroidered with gold, with a front piece of iron gilded, the man all armed as a cuirassier, the armour gilt, holding a naked sword in his hand, with the point towards his breast; after him followed two persons in mourning, leading a horse covered to the ground with black cloth, and a white cross in the middle; then came a gentleman bearing the standard, having the arms of the deceased; after him came the corpse, covered with black cloth, carried by six persons in mourning, and on each side of it eight persons carrying banners, with the arms of the father and mother, and of the grandfather and grandmother on the father's side, and of their ancestors to the sixth degree, which is allowed at the funerals of every gentleman, and of an earl they allow thirty-two. After the corpse followed a man leading another horse covered to the ground; then came the kindred of the gentleman, among whom was the Chancellor, and divers others of quality, all on foot, about forty or fifty; after them followed his mother and sisters, and other women

of his kindred, all covered with white linen over their other clothes, every one of them led by a gentleman in mourning; and though the streets were very dirty, and their robes very long and white, yet they did not hold them up, but were pitifully moiled with the solemnity. After them followed on foot many other women.

They had about twelve coaches, one of the Queen's and another of the gentleman's mother, with six horses and many sledges. They were all to return at night to the mother of the deceased, who was to feast all the company at supper, after the custom of this country, who are extremely ceremonious and very expensive in matters of this nature, esteeming it a necessary duty, with the greatest solemnity that the quality of the dead person will bear, to inter his corpse and to make great feasting and banqueting to those who accompany the burial, and that sometimes for a whole week together.

February 20, 1653.*

The Queen having done Whitelocke the honour to be his Valentine, and to give him leave to wear her name in his hat, he, according to the English custom of presenting their Valentines, sent unto the Queen a very large looking-glass, which he brought hither with him, and was much greater than any he saw here; and the Queen accepted it, much praising the English custom, and thanking Whitelocke for his noble present.

The Queen is Whitelocke's Valentine.

Whitelocke visited Grave Eric Oxenstiern, who discoursed with him concerning Ballendin, and excused

Conference with Grave Eric Oxenstiern.

* [Valentine's Eve, according to the Old Style.]

his carriage, and that the falling of the tapestry was by accident and not done of purpose ; and he entreated Whitelocke to excuse it. Whitelocke said that Bal-lendin's former carriage showed that he let fall the tapestry of purpose to affront him ; but they passed it over, and Whitelocke communicated to the Grave part of a letter which he had received from his brother Wilson ; that he had been with the Judges of the Admiralty, whom he found very ready to despatch those affairs which concerned the Swedes ; and he now being entered into the discourse of the Swedish ships taken prize by the English, Grave Eric changed his language from French to Latin, highly aggravating that fact, and that it seemed strange to the Swedes that so much injury should be done to them by their friends, and especially while their Ambassador was here ; and that this would be a great hindrance to the amity to be made between the two nations.

Whitelocke answered him as formerly, desiring him not to give judgement against England till he knew the fact, and, wheresoever the wrong was, he hoped right would be done ; and told him that the last week he had written to England about this business, and doubted not but that just satisfaction would be given herein ; and Whitelocke, being a little more high than ordinary, kept this Grave in the better temper, who said that Whitelocke had done very well in writing thus to England. Whitelocke said he did it the rather because he believed that his Excellence, and others of his good friends in this Court, were particularly concerned touching these prizes ; at the which Grave Eric seemed to smile, but made no answer. This was too true, and occasioned much the more trouble to White-

locke in the matter of prizes, and of Swedish ships and goods taken by the English during the Dutch war; but, through mercy, he weathered this point also, and got off from this and several other rocks.

Then they fell into discourse touching the trade into the northern parts, some of which discourse follows. Trade of the North.

Gr. Eric. It would be of great advantage to both nations if a staple of the English commodities were erected, one at Gothenburg, and another at Narva, whereby the English might enjoy, not only the commodities of Sweden, but likewise of Muscovia; the cities of Narva and Revel being so conveniently seated that the commodities of Muscovia might very easily be brought thither.

Whitelocke. The Frozen Sea is now a great hindrance to the trade of Muscovia;* but this way, that inconvenience will be much remedied, and the commodities of other countries adjoining to Muscovia may be brought in likewise.

Gr. Eric. Muscovia, on the one side, is bounded with the Frozen Sea; on the other side, with Persia, Tartaria, and Polonia; and towards the Baltic Sea, with Ingria and Livonia; the commodities of all which countries may be brought into the staples.

Wh. What distance are the cities of Narva and Revel one from the other? and which of them is the more convenient haven?

Gr. Eric. Revel is in Ingria, and Narva is in Livonia. Narva, for two or three months in the year, cannot be frequented by reason of the ice, but is much the more commodious to receive the wares of Russia,

* [The proper trade of Russia at this time was carried on entirely by Archangel.]

as well by land as by water ; and in the winter-time it is the more convenient to transport commodities thither by sledges. Revel is thirty miles distant from Narva, and the merchants may apply to this port at any time of the year, without any hindrance by the ice.

Wh. Why then is not that, without comparison, the better place for a staple ?

Gr. Eric. Because the commodities are not so easily or so cheap brought thither as to Narva. How is the correspondence at this time betwixt your Commonwealth and the Great Duke ?

Wh. It is not now upon so good terms as formerly ; therein the Hollanders have supplanted us, as is usual with them when their profit is concerned ; and we have found the Great Duke to be offended with the English by reason of the proceedings of our Commonwealth against the late King.

Gr. Eric. That is very probable to be so ; and the Muscoviters are such a sort of men, that what seems reasonable to all other people of Europe seems contrary to them.

Wh. You were a neighbour to them many years, when you were Governor of Revel, and therefore know their condition the better.

Gr. Eric. I was many years Governor of that city and of all Ingria, and thereby had frequent conversation with them, and took notice of their conditions ; but I hope I have not practised any of them.

Wh. I presume that, as you have seen their manners, so you have disdained them. I have heard that the payments and tolls in these countries are greater than elsewhere, which is to the prejudice of your trade and discouragement of a staple there.

Gr. Eric. They are somewhat high there, but are now lower than they have been formerly ; whereby we find, nevertheless, that the Queen's treasury is increased.

Much other discourse they had on this subject, whereby the Grave manifested his abilities and experience in these matters.

February 21, 1653.

Notice was given to Whitelocke, by his friends, from England, of several designs against his life, and undertakings by some to assassinate him. A Scotsman, who came in one of Whitelocke's ships the sea-voyage, and travelled in his company most part of the land-journey, did in a manner confess himself to be one of the number engaged to murder him ; but this man ran away before he could be apprehended. The enemies of the Commonwealth in this place made divers assaults and attempts upon Whitelocke's servants ; when any of them were abroad late, or few in company, many rencounters and skirmishes were between them ; and always his people defendants, and the assailants wounded and ashamed.

Whitelocke
and his
suite
threatened.

This night, as frequently before, a great number of people, some drunk and others enemies, joined together, came to Whitelocke's door with naked swords in their hands, making a loud noise, and crying, " Come out, ye English dogs, ye king-killers, base rogues !" and the like compliments. Whereupon one of Whitelocke's servants, that was upon the guard that night, discharged a pistol out of the window, upon which they ran away ; but returning again with the like cries,

attempted to force open the door, but it was too strong for them. Some of Whitelocke's people, eager to have a crash with them, would have opened the door and gone out to them; but Whitelocke would not permit it, and ordered them to stand upon their guard, as he put them in a readiness, but not to go forth to assault the assailants; yet, if they should break into the house, not to spare any of them in defence of it and of himself, who would be in the head of them. And after some time and breath spent by these roarers, they parted.

Mr. Ravius informed Whitelocke that Senator Schütt publicly, at dinner, spake many unworthy expressions of the English nation, and of their present condition; that they, pretending to pull down one tyrant, had set up another, and he believed that in a short time they would fall into confusion, and that a treaty with them would be of no advantage to Sweden; that the King's party in Scotland began to be victorious, and that the King, with the assistance of the French, and other foreign forces, and of his own party (by much the greater) in England, would quickly pull down their new government, and punish the authors of it; and that the English Ambassador cared not how long they delayed him here, because he was thereby free from the dangers at home.

Ravius, at the table, answered that he believed the English Ambassador did not intend to stay long here, and esteemed the business about which he came hither equally as good for Sweden as England; that probably he would hasten his return home, where he had business enough; and for the present Government there, he thought it better and firmer than it had been in

many ages before, being now in a pious, prudent, valiant, fortunate man, to whom the neighbour princes sought for his alliance. At the end of a long discourse, the senator was not so severe nor positive against the treaty as at first, but said he would give a visit to the Ambassador.

This senator had less reason than others to speak against England, his father having been ambassador there, and honoured with the order of the Garter; but Whitelocke did not much weigh the discourses, or other opinions of the senators in these matters, in regard the Queen had reserved the determination of them to herself.

February 22, 1653.

The Queen went to Westeräs, to confer with the Prince about the business of her abdication, and (some thought) also about the present treaty with Whitelocke.

Captain Croke, Whitelocke's kinsman and one of his gentlemen, chose for his Valentine Mr. Woolfeldt's lady, and sent her a present of English silk stockings and gloves, which she took so well, that, he going to wait on her as his Valentine, she treated him with great respect, and gave him a ring set with a fair ruby and six little diamonds about it, of the value of £80, a present fit for a lady to give who was the daughter and sister of a king.

Madame
Woolfeldt
is Captain
Croke's Va-
lentine.

The Secretary Canterstein and the Custos Archivorum, and several other officers and gentlemen, honoured Whitelocke to dine with him, and were pleased with their entertainment. Most of their discourse was matter of learning, and particularly of English au-

thors, as Selden, Milton, the Viscount of St. Albans, and others, whom they much admired and commended, and Whitelocke was not wanting or incapable to give a full account of them.

An apology
from Bal-
lentin.

Sir George Fletewood informed Whitelocke that he had spoken with Ballentin about the affront which he put upon Whitelocke, and told him plainly of it; and that Ballentin, with many asseverations, denied that ever he had the least intention to offer any incivility to Whitelocke or any of his company, but was ready to do them all service; that the reason why he did not speak to Whitelocke to go in to the Queen was, because he saw him busy with one of his secretaries in the window, and therefore would not interrupt him, but spake to one of his sons; and that the hanging fell down by accident, and prayed Whitelocke to pardon it. Fletewood told Whitelocke also, that, being with the Chancellor, he spake of it, and much condemned Ballentin, and said that Whitelocke might undo him if he should complain of it to the Queen; but he thought it more honourable for Whitelocke to pass it over, and forgive this foolish action, which the Chancellor prayed him to do. And being Ballentin denied any intention of doing Whitelocke an affront, and desired his pardon, he thought it best to take it for a satisfaction, and told Sir George Fletewood that it being the advice of his father the Chancellor, and of his son Grave Erie, and of him, to any of whom he could not deny a far greater matter, he did freely pass by this carriage of Ballentin, and did forget it; which being told Ballentin, he seemed very glad of it, by healthing to the Ambassador.

Whitelocke visited Piementelle, who told him that the Queen persisted in her purpose of abdication.

February 23, 1653.

Intelligence was given to Whitelocke that the Resident of the Duke of Brandenburg had written from London to a correspondent of his in this place, that the Agent of the Swiss was dismissed by the Protector with more honour at his departure than was afforded to Mr. Lagerfeldt at his return from England; and these things were here spread abroad purposely to disturb Whitelocke's negotiation, but he thought best to take little notice of them.

Many of Whitelocke's company had observed strange appearances in the sky,—exceeding brightness in the night, mingled with various colours, chiefly red, and swiftly passing from one part of the heavens to another, and one colour, as it were, opposing and encountering the other. This evening, with his company, Whitelocke himself, about nine o'clock, saw the sky extended in a thick blackness, and yet transparent in most places, so that the stars appeared there more clear and large than in that part of the sky which was white. There was no wind stirring, and the heavens seemed calm and settled; when, on a sudden, there were motions towards the north-east and towards the north, with great lightnings and fearful thunder-claps, through fogs directing towards the north star, which appeared extraordinarily fair through a black cloud. The flashes of lightning and clouds came swiftly one against another, as it were in charging, and made breaches where they went, and divided themselves as into bodies of pikes and musketeers; then the sky appeared sometime all of blood-colour, afterwards green, yellow, and grey, then all black, and as it were

Aurora
Borealis.

a new battle from the north to the south, and the contrary, in a strange manner, and to the amazement of the beholders, who gave their censures and predictions of it according to their several fancies.

No letters from England came this week by the post, which Mr. Bradshaw, Resident at Hamburg, certified to Earle, Whitelocke's secretary.

February 24, 1653.

Conference
with the
Chancellor.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the Chancellor to appoint a meeting; but Whitelocke would not have it at his house, because the Chancellor had been there often, but he went to the Chancellor's lodging, where they were two hours together in general discourses of several natures.

The Chancellor spake much of the business of Scotland, and of the danger thereby to England, wherein he had taken many things upon trust, and which were greatly mistaken; but Whitelocke informed him the truth of that business, and showed him his letters of it, which gave him satisfaction that his intelligence was mistaken. He desired to know the heads of the treaty with Holland, and how far they were agreed upon, and showed Whitelocke a printed copy of them from Holland; most whereof was right, but in some particulars mistaken, which Whitelocke rectified. They had a little discourse about the Queen's abdication, and he seemed troubled at it. Whitelocke told him that he had a purpose himself of retirement before he came out of England. The Chancellor said he liked it not in Whitelocke, and much less in the Queen.

When Whitelocke mentioned the business of his

treaty, the Chancellor would not come to particulars thereupon, but still put it off, and fell upon some other discourse, being desirous to know the issue of the treaty between England and Holland before any further proceedings in the treaty here.

The Chancellor inquired, having been told of it before, what discourse Whitelocke had with the Archbishop of Upsal. Whitelocke told him of their discourse touching the Lord's Day, and of the miserable profanation of it here. The Chancellor said that it was proper discourse with the Archbishop, and that he did agree to Whitelocke's opinion herein, and hoped that it would be brought to pass in time that there should be a reformation of that abuse.

Whitelocke then told the Chancellor the discourse between the Archbishop and him about the bestowing of ecclesiastical promotions; and that the Archbishop wondered when Whitelocke told him that he, as a Keeper of the Great Seal, or Chancellor of England, and his colleagues, although laymen, yet in right of the Commonwealth, as patrons of the ecclesiastical benefices, did confer many of them upon such clerks as they judged fit and able for the work of the ministry; and that no other had a power of examining the fitness of the persons thus presented by them, or of contradicting those presentations, though none of his colleagues nor himself were, as they term it, in holy orders. This, the Chancellor said, was a point wherein he was concerned, and had a question with the Archbishop about it, in the right of his being Chancellor; and he said he was glad that Whitelocke had this discourse with the Archbishop, and hoped that it would be to the Chancellor's advantage.

February 25, 1653.

The Spanish Envoy
in London instructs
Piementelle to assist
Whitelocke.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and told him that he had received letters from Don Alonzo de Cardenas, Ambassador for the King of Spain in England, whereby he desired Piementelle to testify all respect from him to Whitelocke, and to offer him his service, with many other compliments; for which Whitelocke entreated him to make return of his thanks and service. He also acquainted Whitelocke that the King of Spain, his master, had commanded his return home, and that his intention was to depart from thence as soon as he could conveniently, and he hoped to take his leave within a few weeks, if he could possibly. Whitelocke told him he should be very sorry to lose his good company, but glad for the satisfaction of Piementelle's desires. They communicated news to one another, and so parted.

February 26, 1653.

Queen Christina's
letter on her abdica-
tion, to
Pierre
Chanut.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke, by his secretary, the copy of a letter which the Queen wrote to Chanut, now Ambassador from the King of France, and formerly Ambassador to this Queen:* it was in answer of a letter which Chanut had written to the Queen, to dissuade her from her purpose of abdication. The English of the whole letter is thus:—

“I have formerly given you an account of the reasons

* [Pierre Chanut was Ambassador of France in Sweden from 1645 to 1649. He was a man of singular learning, and induced Christina to invite Descartes to her Court, when he was still unknown in France and persecuted in Holland. It was to Chanut that the Queen had first disclosed her scheme of abdication in 1649: he endeavoured to dissuade her from it.]

which oblige me to persevere in the design of my abdication. You know that this fancy hath continued with me a long time, and that it hath not been without consideration. Eight years since I resolved to put it in execution ; it is at least five years since I communicated unto you this resolution ; in so long a time all the incidents have not caused me to change. I have ordered all my actions to this end, and have so conducted them, without weighing, to this hour, more than my readiness to finish my act, and to retire behind the stage, and trouble not myself about the *plaudite*. I know that the scene which I have represented is not according to the common laws of the theatre. I permit every one to judge according to his genius ; I cannot take away this liberty, and would not if it were in my power. I know there are few that judge favourably ; I assure myself that you are of that number. Other men know not my reasons and humour, since I never declared this to any person but yourself and one more, who hath a soul great and fair enough to judge thereof, as you have. *Satis est unus, satis est nullus*. I mock at the rest, and shall do the honour to him of the troop whom I shall esteem sufficiently ridiculous to divert me, and never take the pains to make my apology to them ; and in the great leisure which I prepare for myself I shall never be idle enough to remember them. I shall employ that leisure to examine my past life, to correct my errors, without repenting the pleasure I have taken in doing good to men, and to have punished those that deserved it. I shall have the comfort that I never made any criminous that were not so, nor spared any that were so. I have preferred the conservation of the State before all other considerations, and have sacrificed all with joy to the interest thereof ; and have nothing to reproach me in that administration, which I possessed without pride, and quit with facility. Fear not for me : I am in safety, and my good is not in the power of fortune. I shall be happy whatsoever may fall out. Only God hath power over me ; not men, nor never shall. I apprehend

that this Providence whereof you speak (*omnia sunt propitia*) will take the care to order my affairs; I submit myself with that respect and resignation as I ought to her will: if it leave the conduct of my affairs to myself, I shall employ what she gives me of faculties in my soul and understanding to render myself happy; and I shall be so, as far as I shall be persuaded that I ought to fear nothing, either from men or from God. I shall employ the rest of my life to familiarize these thoughts, and from the harbour to behold the storms of those who are tossed in this life with the tempests, which they here suffer for want of applying their minds to these thoughts. Am I not worthy of envy in my present estate? Doubtless I should have too many envying me if my happiness were known. You have affection enough for me not to envy me; and I deserve it, since I ingenuously confess that I had some of these thoughts from you, and learnt them in your conversation, and hope one day to improve them in my leisure with you. I assure myself you cannot break your word, and that you will not cease to be my friend in this change, since I quit nothing which is worthy your esteem. In what condition soever I shall be, I shall conserve my friendship to you; and you will see that no change can happen which can alter my thoughts, whereof I glory. You know all this, and doubtless you believe that the greatest assurance I can give you of myself is to tell you that I shall ever be

“CHRISTINA.”

The Queen returned from Westeräs, where she met the Prince and conferred with him.

February 27, 1653.

Whitelocke waited on the Queen, to bid her welcome in her return from Westeräs. She spake nothing of her abdication to Whitelocke, nor did he think fit to mention it to her. They had much discourse touch-

Further
discussion
of the
treaty.

ing the treaty, and she again promised that it should be expedited in a short time after the certainty should be known of the conclusion of the Dutch treaty, which, she said, some did report that it was agreed, and others that it was broken off, but that she would believe no intelligence but Whitelocke's. She inquired of him touching the business of the Highlanders in Scotland, and of the defeat which was reported they had given the English, and asked Whitelocke if he had not heard of it. He said nothing was mentioned of it in his letters, and that there was the less reason to believe it because it was reported that the Highlanders had pursued the English as far as the town of Newcastle, which is above a hundred miles from them, into England.

The Queen told Whitelocke that she had understood that the King of Scots was come to Breda, or near thereabouts, to some place in the United Provinces, to receive assistance from them, and to be in a readiness upon the coast to transport himself for England or Scotland, as his affairs should require, and that he would soon be landed on our side when he should see a fit opportunity for it. Whitelocke said that the English fleet would be ready to attend upon him in his voyage, and some good fellows would be ready to entertain him and his company at their landing. Of this intelligence Whitelocke thought fit to give notice to the Council in England.

At this conference the Queen discoursed with Whitelocke concerning Spain, and said she thought it would be of great advantage, both to Sweden and England, to have an alliance together with Spain ; and she asked Whitelocke if he would treat about it. He

The Queen
favourable
to a triple
alliance
with Eng-
land and
Spain.

answered, that he had no commission concerning a treaty about Spain, and that he had heard out of England that the Spanish Ambassador there had begun a treaty of alliance with England, and that the Protector had appointed some commissioners to treat with him upon that subject.

The Queen replied, that it would be good to have all the three nations comprehended in one treaty of alliance, which would be to the mutual advantage of them all, and that she would send an Ambassador into England, by whom it might be effected. Whitelocke said he was of the same opinion as to the mutual advantage of the three nations by such a treaty, in regard of the addition of strength and increase of trade which thereby would come to all of them, and that he believed the generous disposition of those three nations had much of affinity to one another, which would make such a treaty of the greater force, and more durable.

The Queen said that was a great argument to raise those thoughts which she had of it, and desired Whitelocke to further it what he could. He replied, that he could not yet tell what would be the issue of the treaty already begun in England with the Spanish Ambassador, and that he apprehended it would be best first to conclude the treaty here between England and Sweden; and afterwards, if both these nations did see it fit, the Spaniard might be taken in as there should be cause, whereunto the conclusion of the treaty here would be a furtherance. The Queen said that was true, and desired Whitelocke to acquaint the Protector with her opinion herein, which he promised her Majesty to do.

Then the Queen discoursed with Whitelocke about the English plantations and territories in America, of which he gave her Majesty a full account, as to the Caribbee Islands, Virginia, New England, Maryland, and that of his brother-in-law, the Lord Willoughby,* in Surinam, whereof they had much discourse; and the Queen seemed to wonder that the English should have so many and so large territories in those remote parts of the world. Whitelocke told her the occasions and successes of those discoveries and plantations, and with them mentioned the trade of the English in Guinea for gold, and the forts which they had made and kept there.

The Queen inquires of the British possessions abroad.

Then the Queen told Whitelocke, under secrecy, that some of her people had a footing in Guinea, and that she had a purpose of buying in a privilege which she had granted to some of her subjects concerning trade to Guinea, which would be very beneficial; and that if any in England would buy her right there, she would be willing to part with it. Whitelocke offered that if her Majesty pleased he would write to the Guinea Company of Merchants, and to others in London, about this matter, and give her an answer thereunto; which she desired him to do, and said that if any would deal for it they should have a good bargain.

Whitelocke then told the Queen, as seasonable upon this occasion, the business which he had in charge concerning the Guinea Company in London, and of an injury which her Majesty's subjects had

* [Lord Willoughby, of Parham, was brother of Whitelocke's second wife. He was Governor of sundry Colonies in the West Indies.]

done to the English in Guinea, wherein he said he presumed that her Majesty would cause right and justice to be done. The Queen answered, that was very fit, and that she could wish England would take care to hinder the King of Denmark from the trade of that place, for which she was informed that he was now preparing ships to be sent thither, and would endeavour thereby the destruction of the interest both of the Swedes and English in that place. She desired Whitelocke to give notice thereof to the Protector and to those particular persons who were concerned in the trade of Guinea, that some course might be taken to prevent the prejudice which thereby would arise to that plantation; and herein Whitelocke gave notice accordingly.

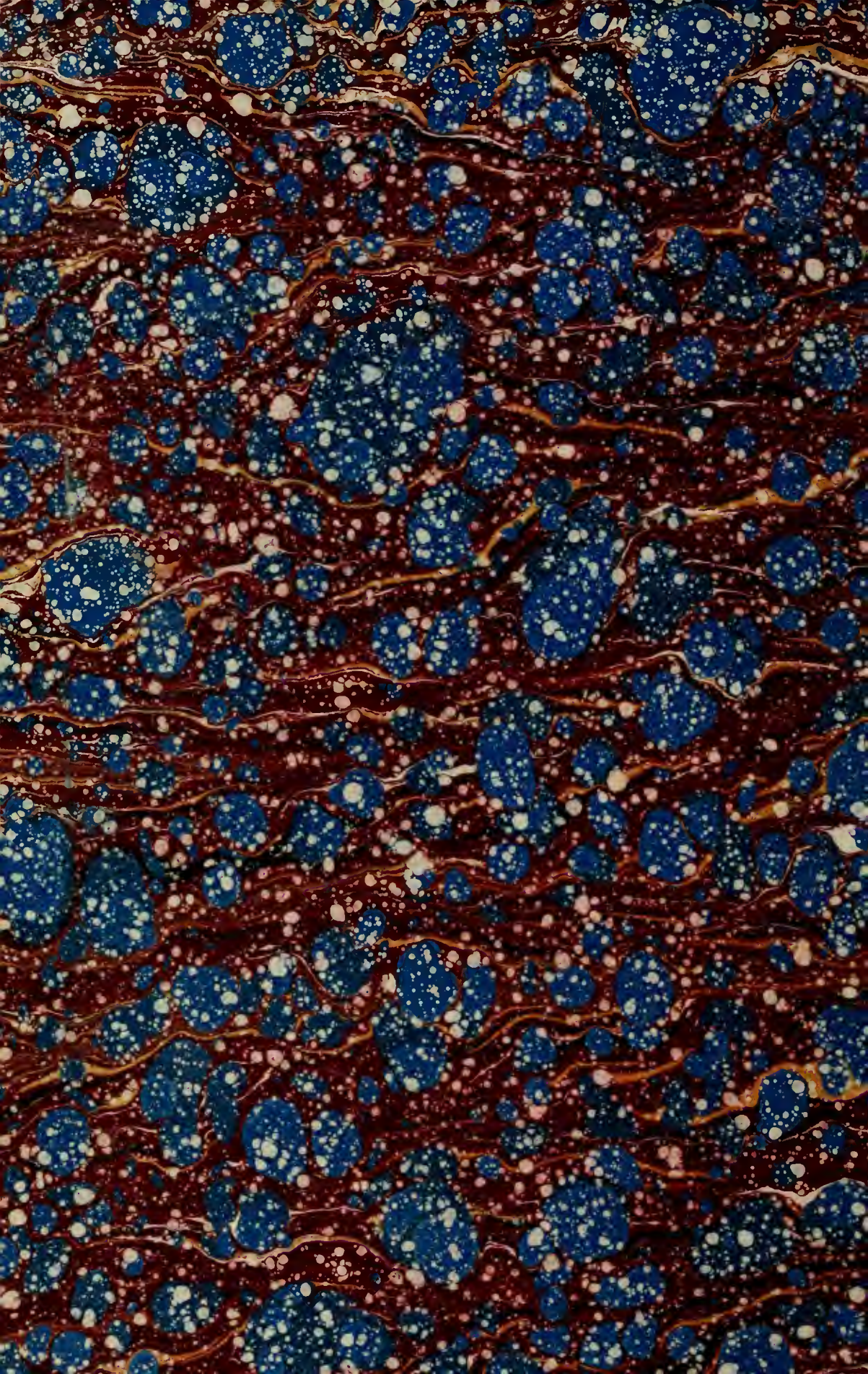
February 28, 1653.

Discourse
on the
Queen's
abdication.

The master of the ceremonies, and several other persons of quality, doing Whitelocke the honour to dine with him, they had much discourse of the Queen's abdication, the general argument of that time, and of her Majesty's journey to Westeräs, to meet the Prince, about which they informed Whitelocke that the Prince did acquiesce in the Queen's proposals touching her resignation, and had remitted the conclusion of the whole matter to an Assembly of the Estates of this kingdom, who are summoned to meet on the 2nd of May next; but it might be doubted whether they would consent to the proposals. If they did not consent, then it could not be effected; but if they did consent, then it would be but short; and that all the great officers, the nobility, and the principal men of the kingdom, had taken an oath of fidelity

to the Prince, as Prince of Sweden, at the coronation of the Queen. And they said they believed that if the Queen should press it, the Estates would obey her; and they observed that the Prince did not return from Westerås to the Isle of Uland, which is a great distance from hence, and where he formerly resided, but went to a house of his own near this place, that he might not be far off during the Assembly of Estates and transaction of this business.

END OF VOLUME I.



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